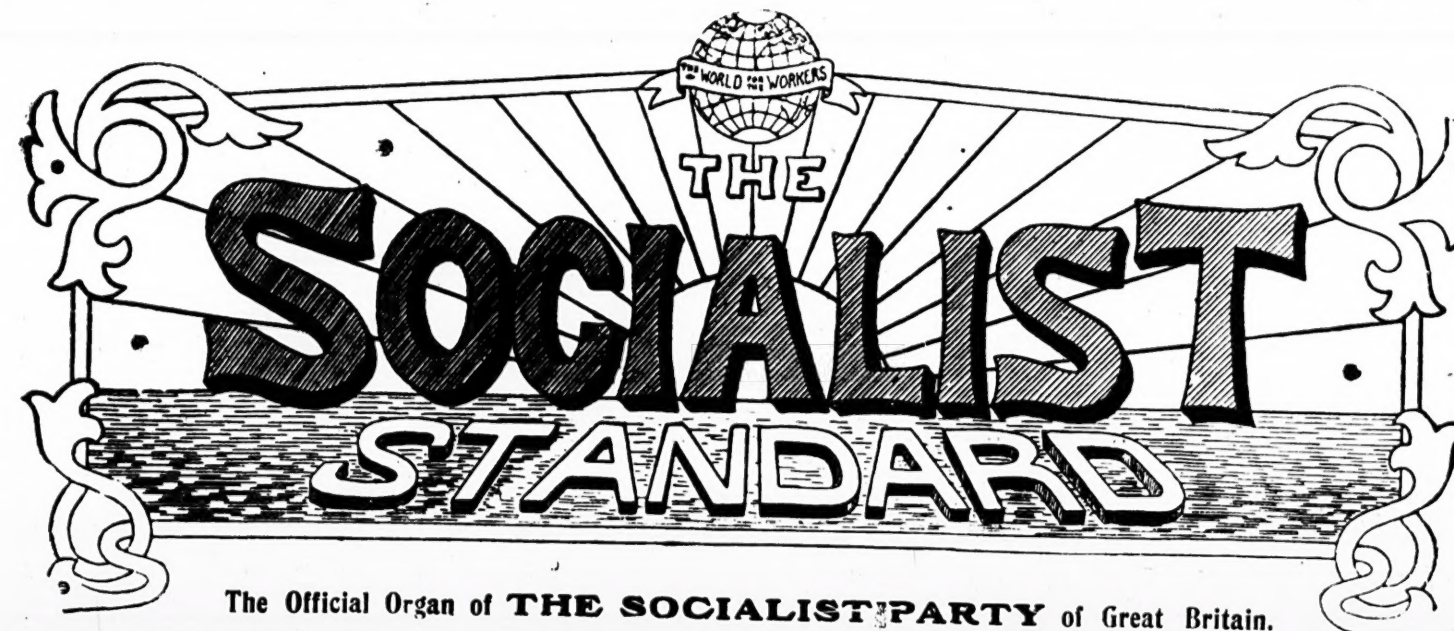


THE
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

UNCONQUERABLE PRINT.

A sad sketch of a vain sin, which could be comically illustrated by any cleggyman who is wearied with the monotony of his profession, and has a little money by him to pay for the publication of the drawings.*

— o —

A little while ago, in the affairs of the Continent of Europe, lived an Emperor called Frederick the Great. The only unquestionably great thing he did was to kill himself with uncommon vices. He departed a little from the usual insipidness of royal life by taking an interest in literature and entertaining Voltaire at his court. It would seem that this same hospitable reception of the satirist is the principal act of his life which entitles him to the epithet of "The Great," just as, among the bulk of inane congregations, a Church of England minister is considered "broad-minded" simply because he murders his wife. One other action in the life of Carlyle's hero entitles him to remembrance, if not to a fool's immortal pillory. While driving through one of the cities of Prussia, on a sunny day, he saw on a wall a placard in which he himself was denounced as an idle, intemperate atheist. It had been posted in the dark and was too high to be easily read. The Emperor stopped his carriage and commanded that a similar bill should be glued at a more readable height; "For," he said, "my subjects may print what they like so long as I can do what I like."

It is difficult to say what thoughts were dancing in the Prussian's skull. Did the old blockhead think that Print remained no more than Print; this fierce placard, "posted after dark," no more than paper and letterpress? Did he not think that his own coronation, and the docility of the masses, depended on advisory placards far different in spirit from this nocturnal one; that a word of this fresh sheet might stop those gilt wheels of his; that a thought of it might be as a whirlwind to knock his golden palace down and blow him and his better-half over the seas out of disgusted Prussia; that this sheet of letterpress might fire a country to destroy an Emperor, as the Chinaman in Lamb's essay burnt his whole house down so as to roast a pig? Call this man, rather, Frederick the Great Fool!

Yet, we must admit, this question of Print is a difficult one to know what to do with; beyond all it is a sore and sad work for rulers to undertake: much depends on its prominence, or death, or conciliation. It is a most dangerous and subtle task for any administrator. The tigerish Acts of Britain's Coalition Cabinet seem

*Preferably a minister who has gone from church to church, tried all the ramifications of his business and found all unprofitable, for the up-to-date spirit of revenge which would then animate his pencil would ensure the success of the volume.

as futile as the daring or dense Act of the hospitable Prussian. That the hour to start on the annihilation of Print is now gone by, is a thought to wet with perspiration the brow of the coolest Prime Minister in the world. Had the Egyptian's legendary policy with regard to Moses been pursued with wisdom and patience during the infancy of writing or the copying of manuscripts, we would never have remembered those ancient thoughts, the vitality of which, yesterday, disturbed the Prussian's sunny drive, and to-day survives and even outwits Britain's civil force and military might. When the ancients wrote on leaves of trees, a royal edict might have announced that all palm trees must be destroyed; when the engraving on bronze began, the digging of mines might have been prohibited; every Babylonian pot with a song on it could have been dashed to the earth. By these and such-like proclamations, Egypt, without dates, would have starved; Rome, without metal and marble, would have sunk to the dust; and Babylon, without pots, would have been everlastingly thirsty; but had these mighty nations of antiquity ever dreamed what ease of mind such an action would confer on posterity's Prime Ministers, they would not, I am sure, have shrunk from the sacrifice.

In the hey-day of the mischief some belated attempt was made to massacre Printing and Learning. In that quaint book of Isaac D'Israeli's, "Curiosities of Literature," we read this: "The Romans burnt the books of the Jews, of the Christians, of the Philosophers; the Jews burnt the books of the Christians and the Pagans; and the Christians burnt the books of the Pagans and Jews." As all these antagonists were sincerely animated by religious scruples, I have no doubt the devastation of books, and the punishment of guilty authors, was done with industry and as little bloodshed as was humanly possible. I feel confident that before a man was committed to the flames the utmost care was taken to choose the author, rather than the mere reader, of the heretical tracts. Yet this scheme is obviously too sectarian to have been completely successful. Had an entirely ignorant, or shall we say impartial, dictator been placed at the head of the "Conflagration Department," he would have burnt books as books, and to-day white bread could have been changed to black without any printed opposition or necessity for Ministerial shivers.

But these are vain regrets for the irrevocable past; and the future is black before the Capitalist. Despite the efforts which have been recently made, it is surely evidently vain to attempt to eradicate thought by the tethering of the Printing Presses. It would have been difficult in the chattel days by the prohibition of pits, the burning of palm trees, and the smelting of hieroglyphic pots; to-day it is utterly impossible by raiding the S.P.G.B. offices, by

Scottish "Forward," London "Globe," and limiting the circulation of the SOCIALIST STANDARD, or even by stopping its publication entirely. To endeavour to suppress thought by such means is only misdirected energy.

All through history the measures taken against the printing of poetry and science alternate between the crafty, yet savage, oppression of our own times, and the dissipated indifference of the Prussian clown. Though it is now idle to lament the increase and swelling in the volume of beautiful and useful printing, a poet of last century, Francis Thompson, did not think it too late in the day to suggest a plan for the building of a waterway for the torrent. In a kind of prefatory word to one of his essays he advised the Catholic Church to deal with fiery poetry, in a way which may very well be imitated by the foes of science:

"This beautiful, wild, fine poetry, wild because left to range the wilds, restore to the hearth of your charity, shelter under the rafters of your faith; discipline her to the sweet restraints of your household, feed her with the meat of your table, soften her with the amity of your children; tame her, fondle her, cherish her— you will no longer then need to flee her. Suffer her to be wanton, suffer her to play, so she play round the foot of the Cross!"

The Pope, however, was too busy kindling candles to take any notice of such a plea; so Francis Thompson stood on the Thames Embankment enduring,

"... through watches of the night
The abashless inquisition of each star."

and sold matches to other good Catholics who were keen to waste wax on an indifferent Mary. His Holiness in the Vatican is notoriously unconcerned with temporal matters, but Mister Lloyd George, who is a Cabinet Minister, is not. This conciliatory scheme of our poet's must appeal to him. George's prestige in the art of conciliation is most high. Think of his memorable master-strokes in the Government, in Wales, and in Ireland. Has he not conciliated Lord Northcliffe and secured the Premiership? When the Welsh miners refused Runciman's offer of half-terms, did not Lloyd George calm them by granting all they asked? Was not Ireland reconciled after the forcible suppression of the irreconcilables? In Ireland, some say, you can now hear a pin drop.

Why, that same Irish insurrection we lately saw, looking at the matter rightly, was all under the direction of Print. For whole generations the country has been full of dumb yearnings and unspeakable dreams, ready for revolt at any time for the last hundreds of years: if only it knew what to revolt for. Then Print came and half explained the evils they felt; then Print summoned the sufferers together and followed up with many impetuous declarations. Other movements, too, are partly under the direction

of Print, which rulers are swift to recognise but do not know how to deal with. Certainly, they think this fiery sort of Print should be swept aside. A most immense business and not at all easy to get done. Each day the forces which aim to break thrones, split empires, unite the workers on a class basis, are becoming more powerful, more defiant, more subtle. Revolutionary books are taken into houses whose threshold they never neared long ago, while men are touched who were never so touched before. A vast, damnable business! Such a state of things, pitiful to the rulers at any time, is worst when the country is at war. Since that fool, Marx, wrote, some have got his words, his message, indelibly in their minds. The influence of the man is extending despite all caution, all prisons, all bribes, all labour leaders; editorials are running to waste. Editorial Harmsworth, alias Northcliffe, says in hectic Print, "Here is a cause which merits a vast expenditure of wealth and a vast loss of blood." The cool Print of the Socialist replies, "We have looked at your record and see that you are not to be trusted; we have also looked at the causes of this war and see that far from there being any necessity for bloodshed, there was no need to spend a farthing of English money or disturb a single French grasshopper."

We are now come at last to the war which is the cause of the new tethering of the Printing Presses. It is not always that we can speak of the carnage with such lightness as at the end of the last paragraph. Yet unless we can smile a little at the more clownish elements of the tragedy we would soon drift into insane melancholy. Yet there is this matter of the Liberty of the Press, so closely connected with the war, over which we cannot smile much either. The thoughts of the democracy, and from thoughts actions, depend so much on their being in touch with literature that any imperfect instruction from bad literature is at once evident in the national conduct. Those millions lie dead on the plains and hills abroad in consequence of the imperfection of their initial thoughts on social questions; those other cold and drenched millions are antagonists from the same cause. That thousand of threatening ships were *unwisely* built and are being *unwisely* used. With a deeper knowledge of Marx's printed word amongst the workers, that Clyde keel of a war ship would be the keel of a friendly ship, which would not injure foreign cities with a storm of missiles, but would enter strange harbours with a cargo to give health; would not with cannon widen the world's natural wounds, but would take wealth which would soothe the ineradicable distresses of life. Let the workers get hold of good Print, and, in consequence, let their ideas change, and not another soldier will fall with lead in his heart in the fields of France, not a stealthy and murderous boat will be left on the ocean. That which is the burnt and bloody "No Man's Land" to-day, would be rich with vines to-morrow; and the seas would be sweetened with pleasant vessels. The "Man with the Hoe" is evil enough for France to cope with.

If, then, so much folly, so much crime, is dependent on our education in printed matter, let us see what obstacles there are to keep the good from us. The first and fatal thing is the education of children. This sacred duty is misdone in a most wilful and malignant way. Inefficient teachers are put in schools to instruct children: the more sensible are bound to teach particular lies or else fall in their profession; and this criminal thing is done because there is the class of capitalists who profit by the blunders and narrowness of the mass. It is apparent to any observant man that youths of the board schools are sent into the world intellectually half made up. When they become grown men they move about in a barren acre or so of thought, and, by them, the wide land of reason and imagination is untrodden; its existence is almost unsuspected. Music, statues, pictures, books, are indeed sign-posts to them, but in the chronicles of misery they read that they point to no contented lands; that they just indicate the ways into the darkness of poverty. Over that dismal heath is the realm of poetry, populated by the sad; along that desolate lane are the villages of music, tenanted by the sad; while far into those other shadows are the

studios, filled with sad and poor. Along none of those prickly roads may a man find ease of wealth nor any ease of mind. "In those fields of science," say the pulpit folk and crafty book, "is only godlessness and dejection. Among that sculpture, amid those violins, is misery and poverty. Come among us, then, and by piety and labour seek here wealth and in the hereafter immortal joy. Leave these sinners and idlers to their pens, their tinklings, their carvings, their colour-boxes, their dreams of social reconstruction, ideals of brotherhood, and that nemesis which always shadows such waywardness—sadness." The above is, in its essence, a specimen of the arguments which hold the workers from the delights of the intellect. Of course, there are many elements of capitalism, perhaps more fatal than these, which limit our outlook. Yet it is certain that we are fettered, in no small degree, by hopes of immortal joy, by threats of immortal punishment, by hope of riches, by threat of poverty. Religion and Commerce stand at the beginning of our lives and prevent entire liberty of thought and emotion. Christ and Baron Rothschild are as scarecrows to keep us from the wheaten fields of the printed book.

Still, whether we have Liberty of the Press or not our work will move like a powerful flood. It would be wise for the administrators to learn that much. The most the masters can hope for with regard to the principles of Socialism is a postponement of their establishment. And as Socialism will bring liberty to every Art and Science it follows that postponement is all that they can hope for in all directions. Privilege based on ignorance cannot last side by side with wisdom and liberty.

Postponement! that will not be long either. The waters of Learning, from the remote Greek hills, come sweeping through the ages like through difficult and undulating country, patiently finding the valleys, circling past impediments: and they will not be stilled. Even if Parliamentary locks are closed they will be encircled; such crime will be without fruit. If this water is to be deprived of its old path there are other meadows near, pathless, *over* and *beyond* the banks—even other channels *beneath* the locks. It would be well for M.P.'s to know that torrents may not be imprisoned or closeted up; to know that Thought is as persistent as water, more impalpable, more ungovernable than water. When free it is sunny, mighty, and refreshing; when not free it is subterranean, terrible, and unhealthy.

Homer struck the rock of the world and the beauty he produced is our inheritance. In marvellous flood the volume of beauty, the inspiration of his work, visited Italy, wound through Spain and Holland and came to us in the end with glorious witchery. We must not be robbed of this gift by the journalistic images of the Government. I will go further and say that I do not think the beauty and instruction given to us by old poet, Italian painter, English scientist, can be for long imprisoned by a newspaper proprietor, or by a thievish politician, nor even by both united in a professional bond of common interests. It only gives us further evidence of their imbecility when our Rulers think that the flood of Learning released by a noble Greek can be stopped by a London police constable; damned fools! H. M. M.

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AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PATRONS OF THE A.S.U.

I have received—no doubt under some misapprehension—a copy of the begging letter being sent to you by an organisation calling itself the Anti-Socialist Union.

Just over four years ago we exposed the fraudulent nature of this organisation. They—Lord Abinger, Mr. Claude Lowther, and all the active members—were appealing to you for funds to fight the Socialists. They challenged all and sundry, but when the S.P.G.B. took up their challenge at their street-corner meetings, it was repudiated at the head office of the valiant A.S.U. The reason given was that the Socialist Party published "a scurrilous article on the coronation of George V." This same article, however, was used by the A.S.U. to impress you with the magnitude and importance of the work they were doing in your interest. They reprinted it in leaflet form, and enclosed it in their begging letters to you, thus emphasising the momentous nature of the "Socialist menace," and the imperative need for your financial assistance. But they dared not face the bogey with which they tried to frighten you.

The A.S.U. solicit funds to fight the Socialists with, but the only party which proves itself to be Socialist by its fearless denunciation of capitalism and its mummery is ruled out from the list of their antagonists, though its outspoken criticisms are used to terrify you into parting with some of your hard earned dividends. The funds they extort from you are obtained under false pretences. They have never fought Socialism. What is more, they have never understood it. This you can discover for yourselves by a study of the literary samples they have sent you. They gravely inform you that

the tendency is to concentrate all the means of producing, distributing, and exchanging wealth into the possession of the State, under the supreme bureaucratic direction of the executive power,

and tell you that this is "State Socialism," the menace to your class supremacy. You, of course, have no fear of a "State Socialism" established by your own executive. That executive has already "socialised railways, etc.," in that way, for your convenience, in your interest, and with your entire approbation. You do not fear the Socialistic measures (so-called) introduced by your executive. What you fear is the growing intelligence, the conscious and organised action of the working class directed against your class ownership and control. That, for you, is the social canker gnawing continually at the vitals of your system. How many A.S.U.'s would you not subsidise if they could put up a real fight against this?

The bogus, blackmailing Anti-Socialist Union informs you of the things you already know, advancing them to spur you to liberality. They say that

In spite of the political truce agreed upon between the two great parties, the Socialists have not ceased to preach sedition, thus hindering the work of our soldiers and spreading unrest among the munition workers. The fruit of their work is already seen in many directions, and after the return of peace may easily prove a dire menace to the stability of the monarchy.

You, gentlemen, knew all this and much more besides. You care little about the stability of the monarchy, because your class in other parts of the world manage quite as well without one. You, knowing what Socialism means, did not expect a cessation of the class war by Socialists merely because you are involved in a world war over the world's trade. In your wisdom you regretted the fact, in much the same way that you lament the approach of old age; it only irritated you to be reminded that "The fruit of their work is already to be seen in many directions."

Neither was it necessary to remind you of your class position and obligations in the following terms:

To you who have a stake in the Empire, and are convinced of the need for stability of government, it is unnecessary for me to emphasise further the good work being done. I confidently leave the matter in your hands.

Being good, honest capitalists, with never a thought for anything beyond providing work for the working class and keeping them in order when performing it, you have all along made it your business to arrange a government equal to the task. Your "stake in the Empire" is ably defended by Liberal or Tory. Both these parties use the forces of order in your interest when necessary. Both parties give countenance and support to the ever-growing army of labour decoys. Both parties utilise to the full all the agencies for preserving threadbare and useless traditions and religions that have long since been proved to be nothing but ignorant superstitions. Your executive controls all these agencies and forces, and up to the present have found them effective. The rise of a genuine Socialist party, rapidly making its influence felt in all directions, is a new contingency for you. You may decide to meet it or to ignore it; either method would be sane. But to employ a swaggering organisation that loudly advertises the enemy, throws down the gauntlet, and runs away, is, to say the least, rank imbecility.

Even when this bogus champion of yours has slunk away to hide behind an excuse which should have been a spur to greater antagonism and effort, the inclination to brag is unquenched. No doubt with his tongue in his cheek Lord Abinger informs you that their speakers

debate points of dispute with the sedition-mongers on the rare occasions when their advocates dare to intervene.

His lordship knows as well as you that it is the Defence of the Realm Act, and not the valiant A.S.U., that is responsible for the comparative silence of the Socialist Party. They say:

If you are an employer of labour you will realise how important this work is, and Socialism, which has received a check owing to the wave of patriotism developed by the war, can be greatly reduced in virulence by the work of the Union if carried on vigorously and unceasingly.

But when the "wave of patriotism" has subsided, when hoodliganism has sunk to its peace-time level, and a peace-time measure of free discussion is possible, the A.S.U. will have their opportunity with the rest. They will have no cause to complain of the rarity of the occasions when we "dare to intervene."

"To you who have a stake in the Empire" contains a confession that everyone within the Empire is not so fortunate as to have a stake in it. Your stake is tangible and solid—part ownership in the means of wealth production. Those who do not share this ownership with you, what is their stake? The afore-mentioned privilege of working for you if your efforts to find them employment have been successful. If some of you fail in this meritorious object, we know that you are not to blame. If your competitors push you out of the market they employ workers instead of you. It matters little to the workers who employs them, though no doubt they appreciate your strenuous efforts to become their benefactors. When they know the full story of your exertions on their behalf they must be eternally grateful to you. Your endeavours to "capture the enemy's trade" in their interest is praiseworthy and creditable, and if successful, your employment of foreigners will be attributed to your boundless desire to give employment. Truly, "it is more blessed to give than to receive," and your stake in the Empire is a double blessing to you. Utilise all available forces in its defence; history is full of precedents to justify you in clinging to power until it is forcibly wrenched from your grasp. But beware of the A.S.U., for its cowardice and brag will only attract the finger of scorn to those associated with it.

In conclusion, do not mistake the motive with which these words are written. We Socialists are inflexibly hostile to you because you own the instruments of wealth production and compel us and our class to operate them in your interest. You have taken "the earth and the fullness thereof" and given us employment—enslaved us. We loathe your system, because it is responsible for our degradation and poverty. But we hold the master-key that unlocks the floodgates of knowledge and fertilises the intelligence of the working class to achieve its emancipation.

Though fraudulent and parasitic organizations bleed you white, we have no sympathy for you. It is not to warn you I write. We

CATHOLICISM OR SOCIALISM, WHICH?

It is to the credit of the Socialist Party that—thanks to its correct understanding of the economic, political, and religious forces of present-day society—it has unflinchingly and unhesitatingly attacked the reactionary forces of society, no matter under what denomination or guise such forces appeared.

Such a one is the Catholic Church, which, whilst the proletariat of Europe are bleeding for the money sharks of the world, and whilst the Socialist Party has been gagged by the tyrants of society, has sought to show once again to the masters how truly reactionary it is.

At the Annual Conference of the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, at which several distinguished French ecclesiastics were present, the Bishop of Cork gave the inaugural address on "The Condition of the Worker," which was a review of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical. I shall cull some of the gems of the Bishop's speech as reported in "Freeman's Journal" of October 12th, so as to show unmistakably on which side stands the Catholic Church, despite its cant about truth—for or against the workers.

The Most Reverend Dr. Cohalan, Bishop of Cork, to give him his full title, at the outset of his address, summed up the Pope's position thus:

He admonished the workers that the improvement of their condition was not to be sought for through violence or by confiscation, that the right to one's property is a primal right from nature. He reminded the capitalists and employers generally, that the worker is not a machine, but a human being, that he is entitled to a living wage for a honest day's labour.

So you see, reader, that the Pope warns you to be of good behaviour. Never you think of disturbing the peace of a country; that must be left to diplomats and rulers. What you must do is to work honestly, and what *honesty* is must, of course, be left to the decision of the sacred pontiff—for who dare question the honesty of so divine a person?

Leaving the Pope's teaching, we will watch for *honest* guidance from our reverend bishop. He says:

If one were an out-and-out evolutionist; if one believed that there is no God, or that we don't know whether there be a God or not; that the different orders of things and the phenomena of the universe have been produced by the physical forces of nature, unguided and uncontrolled by a Divine mind and will, that a struggle for existence, in which the weak disappear and the strong come out victorious, is a universal law of nature; one should conclude that the law of "the struggle for existence" and the law that "the strong must vanquish," or that "might is right" must dominate the domain of capitalist and worker as well as the other departments of nature.

Now one would naturally think that after the bishop—who denies the foregoing as a correct happening—had delivered the same, he would have attempted to show where it was wrong. But he has evidently been taught by his elders that it is dangerous for children to play with fire.

When, however, these people tread on dangerous ground, they have a simple method of getting out of the difficulty—they trust in God.

Now Socialists would have no objection to trusting in God if it was found that the workers could be benefited thereby. But we find that the proletariat, after worshipping God for thousands of years, are in a worse plight than ever they were, that they are more enchained to day than at any other recorded time. And when we examine the situation we find one of the main factors in keeping the large slaves in subjection is the trusting by the workers in a supposed power outside them. The fault of the workers all along has been their trust in others than themselves. That they relied upon themselves they would not have allowed labour fakirs like Houdini & Co. to delude them. The history of the Church shows that it has been nothing else than an instrument which the State, by the forces of oppression, wields to enslave the mass of the people.

But for all that we Socialists must be silly people to propose this charitable bishop, for look what he proposes us!

That all are destined for everlasting life in the Kingdom of God, where there will be no hunger or (Concluded on p. 37.)

REPLY TO ENQUIRER.

J. R. P. (Watford).—The arrangement for the proposed debate at Watford between a reverend gentleman and a representative of the Socialist Party of Great Britain was cancelled by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party because that party had been compelled, owing to the Defence of the Realm Regulations, to suspend all public propaganda meetings. Upon our resumption of such meetings no time will be lost in bringing the debate off, that is providing that our prospective opponent is still of a mind to meet us.

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All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed,—"The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 193 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C. 10, to whom Money Orders should be made payable. The SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

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The Socialist Standard,

MONDAY, JAN. 1, 1917.



WHY NOT PEACE?

The capitalist butchers are still playing their ghastly game, and in their endeavour to score off one another are proving to the hilt what we have consistently maintained as to the causes and objects of the war. Germany flies a "peace" kite, and their brother capitalists of all other countries, who know their family blood so well, hasten to explain that one of its chief objects is to set up the backs of the German people for further butchery. In other words, on capitalist showing it is a capitalist trick to lure the poor deluded fools of the working class to face fresh horrors in Mammon's reeking shambles.

However, there is food for reflection in the reception which is accorded by our international masters to the Germanic peace proposal. We used to hear a lot about "honour" in the early days of the conflict. Such a nebulous term would naturally be useful as an obscuring in getting a war under way, but its real place in the catalogue of the objects of the struggle is in the very nature of things bound to be revealed in the first negotiations for peace. It is in fact so revealed. The word is not mentioned anywhere. No statesman among all those who a couple of years or so ago champed on "the honour of our race" dare whisper the word now that war aims have to be tabled. The world would ring with laughter were any to do so.

We see now emerging, like the scum on a boiling pot, the true objects for which the nations have filled the bath with blood. Each of those on the Entente side have their "aspirations," which must, of course, be satisfied before there can be any "lasting peace." On the other side the same motives of grab hold sway. This means that, in spite of the cant about "restitution, retribution, and guarantees," there can be no peace until further thousands of working men's carcasses have been pounded shapeless and trodden into mud to form the basis of a "peace which shall endure"—until the next war.

But at all events, the peace proposal has finally cleared the air of some of the vague and shadowy shapes which formerly obscured the patriotic vision, and we now know what we are fighting for. Constantinople and the Dardanelles for Russia—and so that she gets them we will bleed with the same heroic fortitude as our grandfathers bled so that she should not. The Trentino for Italy, Alsace-Lorraine for France—these are objects so near our hearts that we must assent if they stop them beating. Territory for Roumania, territory for Serbia, territory for Montenegro, compensation for the ruined factories and shattered property of the possessing class of Belgium—we will bleed and die for them all.

And then, in the course of time, the point will be reached where our masters cannot conveniently spare any more of us for corpses, have doubts about their ability to bear the strain of maintaining more of us as cripples, get cold feet when they think of the interest on their

national debt, and begin to wonder whether further sacrifice of blood and treasure is going to hang a bigger mill-stone about their opponents' necks than about their own. Then they will see that the Austro-German masters have been properly and sufficiently punished for Belgium and Serbia and the Lusitania and Nurse Cavell and Captain Fryatt—through millions of butchered working men, of Britain and France and Russia no less than of Germany and of Austria.

Then a balance will be struck upon the basis of what blood and treasure the contestants still have to spend, and we shall have "Peace."

But as for us, we think this an opportune moment for proclaiming that we have no quarrel with our fellow workers in any country. Be it in Germany, or Austria, or Turkey, or France, or Russia, or at home here in England the workers are either tricked or coerced into being the agents of those whose interests are served by the war. In this respect one race is not more culpable than another. The ignorance which permits it is international, nay, universal. So we can have nothing but sorrow for all the working-class victims of the war, whatever tongue they speak, and whatever Caesar they serve. To us it is no matter for gratification that the battlefields of France are covered with German dead, and that in Berlin anxious and suffering crowds wait all the winter's night in the streets for the first whisper of peace. We sorrow with them as we suffer with them.

CATHOLICISM OR SOCIALISM, WHICH?

Continued from page 35.

thirst or cold or unsanitary habitation, or conflict of labour and capital; where every desire will be satisfied in the abundance of the Father's house and Kingdom.

Really, if such rubbish could be tolerated by the workers, is it any wonder that they are assassinating each other, especially seeing that they are to have such a good time rotting in the ground—pardon, bishop, I mean lounging in the Kingdom of God? But, of course, it would not do for all the wage-slaves to commit suicide so as to enter the "Kingdom of God" all the sooner, for then they would not be serving their God—or what is the same thing, the master class, who thrive on the workers' energy.

So, after a dilatory talk on "Christian truth" (save the mark), the priest becomes more practical and talks about Socialism, and it is on this question that he shows up clearly the I.L.P., the B.S.P., or any other body which falsely goes under the name of Socialist. He divides Socialism into four classes. First, communistic Socialism, a kind of Utopia preached by Anarchists; secondly, collectivist Socialism, which, cleared of its ambiguities, would nearly suit the Socialist Party; thirdly, State or Municipal Socialism; and fourthly, Co-operative Socialism. The bishop feels rather dubious about calling the last two classes Socialism, for he says, "it is questionable whether the name 'Socialism' is applicable at all to some of these theories." It is with these latter two classes that the bishop proves that the I.L.P., the B.S.P., and kindred organisations are good reactionary parties. Listen to what he says:

I will consider State Socialism. And I might say that it was collectivism or communism alone that was condemned by the Pope, and that necessarily State or municipal Socialism does not fall under the condemnation of the Encyclical unless and in so far as it implies the principles of Collectivism. States and municipalities take over, some one and some another of the following: The post and telegraph systems, railways and tramways, water supply, lighting, tobacco, land, public parks, burial places, slaughter houses. Two questions arise in relation to these State enterprises: First, do they imply a denial of private ownership; and, secondly, does the State, in these undertakings, go outside its proper sphere and interfere with the just rights of private enterprise. Now the taking over of these services by the State as it is actually done is not Socialism. It does not imply a denial of private ownership, or of succession, or of the wage-earning system. The employees of the State are wage earners. If they make savings they can invest their economies in land, or industrial or commercial concerns.

The reverend gentleman then goes on to say that co-operative and co-partnership concerns (such as Sir William Lever is advocating to "harmonise capital and labour"), are not Socialism. But let us see what he says of his

'Collective Socialism,' that which concerns us most.

Collective Socialism advocates the abolition of private ownership, not in all things, but in all things necessary for production: in land, in mines, in all raw material, in industrial buildings, in the means of transport. Collectivism allies itself with the Darwinian theory of evolution and calls itself scientific Socialism. Its advocates favour what is called economic concentration, that is, the absorption of all small industries by the great capitalist enterprises. They say that is the trend of evolution. And when all the small industries shall have been absorbed, then by an inexorable law of evolution the capitalists will be cast out, and the workers will become the masters of the house. Meanwhile the Collectivist leaders advocate a class war between workers and capitalists, as the most effective means to bring about the social revolution.

Rather funny advocating a class war for a revolution that will be brought about by that "inexorable law." The bishop goes on:

Now Collective Socialism falls under the condemnation of the Pope. From the moral point of view its principal specific error and vice consists in its denial of private ownership of land, raw material, and the various means of transport.

I have purposely quoted lengthily from the address to show that, as Socialists contend, a member of the I.L.P., the B.S.P., or other pseudo Socialist party, can be a religious person for the simple reason that he does not oppose the established regime, viz., capitalism, whilst the Socialist, who must oppose capitalism, whether it be in the form of State or of private enterprise, cannot be religious. The Socialist knows that religion can only flourish where there is ignorance, and since the Socialist is out to educate and enlighten his fellow man, he must be antagonistic to all forms of religion.

After talking about Socialism the bishop comes to the question of a living wage. Rather a pity that it must be a living wage. What kind of a living, did you ask, reader? Do you expect a pontiff's living? Well, the worker must be frugal and temperate, and the wife must help to contribute to the husband's income so as to keep down his wage as low as possible, otherwise he also will be condemned by the Pope. If the workers are sick and destitute, they can be relieved, says the kind-hearted bishop, by charity.

Is it not time the workers acquired the knowledge and intelligence to ignore the parasites of society, including the Catholic clergy, and set about changing completely the present order of society, with all its hellishness, to a social system where the whole fruits of their toil shall be their reward? For this Socialists strive.

Before leaving our bishop in his ramblings I should like to quote one more passage from his address. He says:

The voice of Socialism is more or less hushed by the war. But the conflict between labour and capital is not over. Socialism may become active.

Yes, indeed, the struggle between the labouring class and the employing class is not over. The masters will attempt to rivet the chains of slavery ever more firmly round the bodies of their wage-slaves, but you may rest assured, good bishop, that the Socialist Party, whoever is left to compose it after the present "bloody mess," will not waver in its work of speeding the day when the death-knell of capitalism will be sounded, so that in its stead can be established the Socialist Commonwealth.

Let all who have the emancipation of the working class at heart study our principles and policy and help in the "great push."

M. L.

CIRCUMSTANCES ALTER CASES.

"The present war in the East is a sordid and greedy squabble over the division of the spoils taken from the Turk. Bulgaria (who herself deserves little sympathy) will in all probability be overborne by her former Allies. She is now surrounded by a ring of enemies, so that she cannot even fight with her back to the wall. The most shameless and dastardly act has been that of Roumania, who stood aside while there was any fighting to be done with the Turk, or while Bulgaria was free to deal with her, and who chooses the present moment to declare war without any pretext, and to claim a hand in the division of spoils she has shed not a drop of blood to win."—"Reynolds's," July 13, 1913.

ORTHODOXY.

A STUDY IN THE MOULDING OF THE SOCIAL MIND.

The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

—COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

I.

Most people think that they know what is meant by "orthodoxy," yet perhaps very few indeed really understand its full significance. Orthodoxy may be defined as that general concoction of opinions, doctrines, and ideas accepted as correct by the majority of the people in a community. What accords not with these ideas—what is not orthodox—is not "respectable"; carried far enough, is "heretical"; and carried to extremes, is "treasonable."

We Socialists, at least in matters social or appertaining to social conditions, have succeeded very largely in disentangling ourselves from the tentacles of "accepted truth," yet even more than they who are still enmeshed in its coils do we recognise the immense social significance and consequences of orthodox belief.

For the benefit, therefore, of those "sons of labour," yet, alas! millions in number, whose eyes are still blinded and brains benumbed by ideas alien to their interests, this brief contribution is made to expose a little of the reality behind the sham.

The working class are a very respectable lot. We bemoan it, but that doesn't make it any the less a fact. To make sure of a good start we become very respectable early on in life, our initiation into orthodoxy commencing almost as soon as we are able to imbibe ideas at all. We catch the first germs of it from our already very often deeply infected parents, partly by heredity but mainly by inoculation. When our brains are plastic and innocent of experience we are taught with tender words and fondlings the fantastic mythology and crude magic of the ancient Hebrews. We are told of the wonderful exploits of the Jews' Messiah—a sort of ancient Mahdi—and by a trick in mental gymnastics we are taught to see, like Hamlet, in our "mind's eye," the ghostly triple entente where three are one and one is three.

All unconscious of the fact that they are prejudicing their child's chance of logical reasoning, the parents insist upon the acceptance of these barbaric conceptions as inviolable truths.

We are early taught the art of invoking the aid of the "powers unseen," and by playing upon the inborn fear of the unknown generally the groundwork is laid for that depth of superstition which accompanies many a man and woman all through their subsequent life. The period is a critical one, for the youthful mind, having had little or no experience by which to test the truth of what it is taught, absorbs ideas readily enough without question, on the authority of its parental tutors, whom it trusts and loves. Perhaps not always is the inculcation of religious thought carried quite so far in pre-school days as in the above, or on quite the same lines; but it matters little, for the process of orthodoxising the infant mind is zealously continued throughout the subsequent years of school life. Here, although religious ideas are still persistently embedded and cultivated, soon other and more solid material is touched upon as the process expands to embrace wider and wider fields.

The modern school for the children of the workers resembles in one respect the modern factory. The factory turns out a product indistinguishable from its countless fellows, in a stereotyped mould with clocklike regularity. In the school we have a systematic routine which effectively retards rather than develops the incipient individuality of the future worker. It is to a nicety calculated to hatch out in the bulk a proletarian of the most approved type—industrially efficient, but on all things respecting his economic, social and political status, an ignoramus, with patriotism oozing from every pore, and abundant respect for the existing order of things, national tradition, and for the

established authority of the powers that be—spiritual and temporal.

This condition of what might not inappropriately be termed a variety of psychic paralysis is procured largely by the judicious administration of a doping mixture dignified with the title of "history," but which anyone acquainted with the real stuff recognises at a glance as an impudent fraud, as even Herbert Spencer admitted.

The very chapter headings of the so-called history books used in the schools are significant of the character of the material therein. Each chapter, as a rule, deals with the reign of a particular monarch, and into these "reigns," together with larger periods comprising several of them, called a "house" or "dynasty," the history is divided.

These periods bear no necessary relation whatever to the actual development of the society in question, and from this point of view are mere arbitrary divisions. Here is the key to an understanding of these travesties of history: they are only intended to represent the ruling-class view, and consequently they dwell almost entirely upon the doings of the ruling classes and their puppets and flunkies, representing them always in the most favourable light possible, and only then dealing with the superficial and showy manifestations of movements, the real nature of which is never disclosed.

Exaggerated and undue prominence is given to the activities and influence of what are called "great men," who are referred to as "makers of history." Where the lower stratum, the working population, does interfere and rudely interrupt the serene contentment of the rulers, as for instance in England in the Peasants' Revolt, in France to some extent in the Great Revolution, or later in the Commune of Paris, and in Germany in the Peasants' War, it is either totally ignored in these "histories," or reviled and slandered with lying statements about "anarchy" and the "requirements of order." The lesson is thus pointed home to the worker's child—never rebel; always "wait and see."

It is therefore easily understood why at school, our "histories" are comprised almost entirely of records of ghastly wars (with the ghastliness left out), court murders, marriages, divorces and plots, embellished here and there with wood-cuts of what seem often enough to have been wood heads.

Of the actual social and intellectual life of the people in each epoch, of the various classes and their mode of living, of their countless struggles, petty and great, which make up the bulk of political history, of the changes in the forms of property and wealth, together with the changes in its production and the manner of its distribution, and, in fact, of everything which would predominate in a history worthy of the name, practically no mention is made in these "elementary histories" used to "educate" the young. Were this matter brought to the notice of the authors of those volumes, they would doubtless reply with a superior smile that "those things" would be too "deep," too difficult and "philosophic" to be comprehended by the scholars, even if they did not deny, as they might do, that they are the real subjects of history. Yet the workers' children are supposed to be vastly interested and absorbed in the petty squabbles between court and court, in the monotonous repetition about countless bloody wars, and in the thieving and murdering exploits of Drake and the other buccaneers; but to understand the living conditions and struggles of the working people in the past—that, forsooth, is beyond them. Still, as we shall see later, there is a vastly different reason why the proletarian children are thus dosed with this concoction of misrepresented and "adapted" history.

The positive outcome of this kind of instruction is to instil into the child a great deal of national pride and bombast by constantly harping upon the immense superiority over that of the foreigner of "our" courage, "our" soldiers, "our" glorious constitution, and "our" great Empire. Its negative outcome is, of course, a vacant ignorance of the real facts of history and of social evolution.

This is emphasised inasmuch as practically no information is given regarding the structure

of modern society by teaching even the rudiments of social science. A few worn out and exploded maxims of the so-called political economy of the professional "economists" being in all probability all that is attempted. Of natural science, if any is taught at all, it consists only of that which will not directly contradict the cosmic ideas incorporated in the current religious dogmas, and thus little or no reference is made to the wider generalisations concerning the "origin of things" which modern science has arrived at.

To sum up the above, we can see how the school routine contrives to shut out from the mind of the worker's child any real knowledge other than that of a purely utilitarian character, such as of mathematics, writing, drawing, and the like, and only, as a rule, a smattering of these, which are intended as a preparation for his or her future occupation of working for a living, and "incidentally," for a master. To emphasise and add point to the argument the following is given as a rough sketch, of course, abbreviated, of the vague ideas on matters social, walked off with by the majority of children in this country upon leaving school; and with a little alteration in the wording substantially the same matter would serve to describe the ideas concerning this subject with which the children of any modern nation are equipped.

The British Nation is the foremost and most civilised on earth. We are the inheritors of a great Empire of free States established by the combined efforts of our soldiers—the bravest in the world, our sailors—the finest seamen that ever existed, our statesmen—among the wisest of all time, and last but not least, God Almighty. Throughout this glorious Empire our continued endeavour has been to educate and Christianise the heathen savage (such, at least, as have not thought fit to die off) in order to shower on them the blessings of our civilisation. The same great forces which built up our Empire have given us command of the seas, which is a good thing for the people in the world (if they only knew it), for in their hands it would be intolerable. But we exercise it with firm but benevolent justice.

At home after a hard fight with autocracy we have succeeded in establishing the rule of the people, and it is our proudest boast that Britons never shall be slaves. Of course, there are still some class distinctions, but only those remain which are necessary and natural—necessary to provide an incentive to industry and to ensure its proper management; natural because based upon natural differences in ability. The intelligent and thrifty have accumulated capital—the great agent of industrial progress—and thus receive a reward in the shape of profits derived therefrom. On the other hand are the working classes who, while no doubt deserving in many ways, are not capable of such mental effort as the upper classes are. They perform the manual labour, as distinct from the more refined and important mental labour of those above them. Still, the more intelligent of the workers can, by being thrifty and dutiful, ascend into the capitalist class themselves, for equality of opportunity for all exists to-day, as it never did in the past. In fact, at no previous period have the people in general been so well off, for the inherent democracy of the British mind, with its love of fair play, guarantees to every grade their fair share of the social wealth, so that harmony between class and class prevails, except where friction is caused by the vicious work of self-seeking agitators. We have, indeed, at last reached the true ideal of social organisation, and when one or two little mistakes have been rectified we may look forward to an indefinite perpetuation of the existing form of society, bringing with it ever-increasing culture and happiness to all mankind.

That last mouthful sounds like the finish up of a school "History of England," doesn't it? What an awful strain upon a fellow's conscience penning such a pack of lies is; but one has to suffer something for the good of the cause.

However, a careful scrutiny of the above will fail to disclose an idea that will stand the test of intelligent criticism, and the task confronting us now is to make clear the reason why we are taught such nonsense.

Why is it that what is supposed to be a system of education is not made really such by a

genuine attempt to teach the truth as far as it is known? Let us see what would result from such a course.

Suppose that every child was taught that all wealth is produced by the application of human labour-power to natural material, and that the fraudulent nature of the so-called directive ability of the capitalist was exposed, would not this be a condemnation of present-day society, where the many that labour are poor and the few idlers rich? And would not the working-class child grow up discontented with its conditions of life and with the form of society?

Were the children of the workers taught in their history lessons of the hopeless grinding slavery and poverty underlying all our vaunted civilisation and all the "glory and grandeur" of the world's Empires, the ferocious revenge of the ruling classes against all assaults upon their power, the brutal manner in which our peasant forefathers were robbed of their lands—the source of their livelihood—and herded into the factories in the early days of the present system, is it not obvious that such a course of education would fan the flames of revolt against the existing social order?

By reversing the order of reasoning it is made abundantly clear that the whole set of orthodox superstitions taught to us in the schools are linked by one guiding thread, the desire to assure contentment with the things that are and subservience to the powers that be.

This is, of course, a most excellent arrangement for those who profit by the continuance of the present form of society—those to whom is held out all the prosperity in material and intellectual goods which this age of titanic wonders has conjured into existence—the capitalist class. But it is hardly so excellent for the working class, who are thus unconsciously made agents in the perpetuation of their present miserable condition of poverty and economic servitude.

The fact that such precautions are taken to assure contentment with the present condition of things is in itself pregnant with significance of the nature of the system which makes revolt against it such a possibility as to require to be carefully guarded against. Wherever the few, forming a small class, live parasitically at the expense of the many, this possibility always exists, and whenever the moral and ideal agents of social stability fail to prevent an outbreak of revolt on the part of the oppressed, the physical power in the hands of the State, if its control is not seized by the revolting class, is always used to stamp out the spark before it becomes a devouring conflagration.

Under feudalism, which preceded the present system, the workers' minds were held in the paralyzing grasp of Papal Christianity, then in the heyday of its power, and were steeped in the greatest depths of superstitious ignorance. As industry, followed by commerce and international communication, developed, there came a revival of the sciences and arts under the patronage of the new and rising "aristocracy of trade"—the bourgeoisie. When the application of science to industry had made an intelligent and efficient working class more of a necessity than it had been in the feudal period, the capitalists, now politically supreme, after many misgivings and heart-tremblings, made the bold experiment of imparting to the proletariat such a mental training as would better fit them for the more intricate technical and directive requirements of the new productive forces, and of commercial intercourse.

The scheme worked well, greatly to the surprise of the old-fashioned pessimistic members of the bourgeoisie, who had uttered grave warnings to their class as to the results of this "dangerous, suicidal" policy. But the representatives of the ruling class knew their cards. It was not intended that the workers should be taught too much; only what was "good" for them, and, of course, they, the masters, were to be the judges of that.

Naturally a dead stop could not be made when the "efficiency" course was finished, for the worker's mental appetite had been whetted and he had the rather dangerous faculty now of reading. So a further step was taken, and we have seen the result. In addition to the directly industrially useful information, the workers have been given a distorted impression, a pseudo-

knowledge, of the society in which they work. They are led to imagine that they know something of the world outside their little individual circle, whereas their minds, in reality, are only stocked with a conglomeration of false notions and conceptions, tricked out in the garb of wisdom, but, in the last analysis, only very thinly covering the skeleton they are woven around—the sordid interests of the capitalist class.

Verily our masters have been wise in their generation; they have gone one better than ever their feudal or antique compeers did. Whilst in former slave systems the subject class for the most part only passively acquiesced in its slavery, to-day the spectacle presents itself of an oppressed class actively upholding the system, which ensures its continued enslavement. An enfranchised working class has become quite "safe." As election day comes round the well-rewarded representatives of the interests of capital dangle before the eyes of the working electorate, reforms and palliating patches of every type. The proletarians, soaked in the slough of orthodoxy, unable as yet to conceive of any social conditions save those existing, readily swallow the bait and return to the seats of government the hypocritical lying agents of their task-masters.

And so the game goes merrily on. For yet another season are the capitalists and their lackeys enabled to sweat and grind, bluff and blind, the patient multitude, by whose brains and sinews are reared those giant achievements of power and luxury which to the parasites alone it is given to enjoy.

R. W. HOUSLEY.
(To be continued.)

SHRAPNEL FROM THE STATES.

The "Strength" of the I.W.W.

Once more the bitter and tragic lesson of economic weakness has been driven home to the toilers of the U.S.A. Many thousands of the iron-ore miners employed by a subsidiary company of the great Steel Trust struck work. They were organised by the I.W.W. which sent special national organisers to the State of Minnesota to teach the Finns, Slavs and others of our fellow-workers, the road to victory. After months of struggle the organisers are held under a charge of murder in the first degree, the miners have gone back after declaring the strike off and several workers have been killed by gunmen and others injured for life. At the last minute the I.W.W. turned their backs on "economic force" and hired lawyers to get their men out of capitalist clutches.

Out West, in the Pacific Coast States, the I.W.W. consider they are strong and triumphant. In November they decided to teach the "Vigilant" bosses of the city of Everett (Washington Territory) that "free speech" could not be denied to the I.W.W. They gathered their braves and 250 boarded the boat from Seattle to take and hold "the rights of free speech" in Everett. Spies had already informed the bosses of the latter city and they armed and waited on the dock for the "Revolutionists." When the boat-load of I.W.W. members arrived, rioting and murder took place. The city of Everett lost its Sheriff and the I.W.W. several men bers. The boat returned to Seattle like a hospital ship, covered with the results of capitalist brutality. Thus the violence and sabotage preached by the I.W.W. breeds worse violence and fills cemeteries—with the workers' slain.

The "Woman Rebel."

"Mother Jones" has been popularly known in the States as the "idol" of the miners, "the great Socialist agitator," and the like of those. She was amongst the first of the "Socialist" Party leaders in organising the I.W.W. at that memorable meeting in Chicago in 1905 along with DeLeon and others. She was acclaimed in the "Socialist" and "Socialist Labour" Press as a great fighter for the proletariat. When Debs stood for President—she was for Debs,

"our 'Gene'" as she called him. But scenes change. It is 1916 and Debs no longer runs for President—he shoots at a nearer target and runs for Congress for Indiana. And "Mother" Jones! Our stately old lady speaks no more for Debs. As the official organ of the Socialist Party of America fearfully says. ("American Socialist," Nov. 11).

Now she is in the Fifth District of Indiana whooping it up for the minions of the capitalist class. . . . I thought it would not be more than my duty to make known to the comrades of the U.S. that "Mother" Jones is out in the interest of the capitalist class.

They now refer to her as an apostate. And they now confess that

She has never been able to understand the principle of the class struggle. She has never understood Socialism. She has never understood capitalism. She knows nothing of political economy. . . . Naturally, like all persons who do not understand the teachings of Marx and Engels, she goes wrong.

But when we said that years ago we were "abusive," "liars," etc.

"Silver-Tongued Debs."

Strange reading all this makes when we know that lots of that criticism of "Mother Jones" applies to Debs himself. He has never understood the class struggle—hence his gymnastics on the Union question. He has never understood Socialism or capitalism—and therefore believed in "Socialist Colonies." He knows absolutely nothing of political economy, and "naturally" like all persons who do not understand the teachings of Marx and Engels, he goes wrong. We who have heard him in America know the large part that sentimentality plays in his orations and how little there is of Debs and how much of Ingersoll. How little of Socialism and how much of hot air in the attractiveness of our "Gene."

The Stars and Stripes for Ever!

The Socialist Party captured the beer-soaked city of Milwaukee. A "Socialist" Mayor was elected—with the help, of course, of the labour unions, and preparedness being the current form of insanity afflicting the United States at present, the contagion spread to our Mayor and our "Socialists" in Milwaukee. Far and wide it became known that Milwaukee was to have a parade in favour of preparedness and national defence and the "Socialist" Mayor lead the procession.

Even Debs protested and sobs—

The parade was conceived, initiated, organised, and managed by the ruling class, and its hirelings were expected to march in it and did. Since when it has become necessary for Socialists to demonstrate their "patriotism" by marching in parades financed by the steel trust, the powder trust, the gun factories, and the munition manufacturers, who are fastening an infamous militarism on the country. (Quoted by the "International Socialist Review," November.)

In the city of Minneapolis another "Socialist" Mayor was elected this month and judging by the little Socialism he knows, another Milwaukee is in store. But the S.P. of A. does not know any better, and it has to be pretty bad before they take action to stop this mockery of the name of Socialism. The other "Socialist" Mayor, Lamm of Schenectady, New York, got so bad that he had to be expelled.

A "Socialist" for President.

The Socialist Party nominee for President is another bright specimen of what to avoid. This is the way he fights jingoism in his "Common Sense about the Navy":

If we are to have immense appropriations for war preparedness thrust upon us, let's see to it that the ships to be built shall be of the sort which are proving the most effective in the big war, fast, armored ships and submarines. AND LET'S SEE TO IT THAT THEY ARE BUILT BY OUR GOVERNMENT WITHOUT PROFIT TO ANY INDIVIDUAL. There's no urgent need for haste. Admiral Fletcher's testimony proves that. It is true that our navy, to be quite properly balanced, needs submarines and fast armored ships. All right—but let's build them ourselves—let our government arrange to do it. It will be much cheaper that way and we will get better ships. We have time—there's nothing to be scared about right away. Nothing at all—if you think there is, if your knees still shake—turn back and read Admiral Fletcher's words again.

Such is Allen L. Benson!

Education in America.

The national railroadmen's strike was averted by the passing of the Adamson 8-hour Bill by

Congress. Now the "direct action" apostles are explaining their victory. The "International Socialist Review" for November opens the first page by stating the position thus:

What 8 hours work in 24 means is so simple, clear, and specific that no lawyers, glib gabbyjacks hired for skill in tergiversation, can come in and make black white or white black. . . . Eight hours work means 8 hours work, and there is no going behind the returns.

Now such a statement could only be made by a fool or a—philosopher.

Shorter Hours and Higher Profits.

No sooner was the Act passed to secure 8 hours than the lawyers were on the job and the vast railroad corporations of America were commencing a huge organisation to make "white—black and black—white." The Act itself was framed by glib lawyers and experience has taught bitterly in the U.S.A. how powerful the Courts are in administering laws for the bosses. So far from 8 hours meaning just 8 hours, every great factory in America that adopted it has reaped higher profits.

Woodrow Wilson used the 8-hour law during the current election as his great achievement in stopping strikes, and circulated throughout the country the statement of Henry Ford that since 8 hours was adopted more work had been done than in ten and the profits had travelled sky high. More efficient and automatic machinery, scientific shop management, better division of labour and shorter meal times are the methods used by Henry Ford with 8 hours. A three-shift system is also widely used for the purpose of covering the cost of machinery before it gets out of date.

The Economics of the Insane.

Worse, however, is to follow. The same writer urging the view that shorter hours are a safer step than higher wages, makes this alarming discovery:

Always too, the capitalist class with its power of fixing prices, can raise the cash cost of life necessities so as to take away thru [sic] higher prices all that has been conceded in higher wages.

Hence a fight for higher wages is useless! But if our economist places no limit to the power of the capitalist in fixing prices, why not just as easily say that the output in an 8-hour day depends upon his will and can be raised at his pleasure! But no—work is a fixed quantity!

Just like the Bible!

The "Review," however, does not bind you to their economist's opinion. If you care to read further on you will find another article written by one of the editors, Mary E. Marcy, entitled, "Who pays the Taxes?" and she says:

We know that your boss and my boss cannot raise the cost of living. We know that they cannot raise the price of things they sell because they have to compete with other manufacturers.

This flatly contradicts the other contributor. But that should not trouble them. It gives a little variety to the magazine, and if it confuses the workers that is merely incidental to its sale and after all secures hay and oats to those who edit it.

The Outlook for Socialism.

The quotations made are typical of the confusion in the ranks and Press of the alleged Socialists in the United States. Here and there in the existing parties one meets with well-read and clear thinkers, but they are like happy times for the worker few and far between. The prospects for a real and revolutionary Socialist body are good but the difficulties are enormous. Not only has the great size of the continent got to be considered, with the great distance between large towns and the expense of supporting a hall or a paper, but the agencies of confusion and cant are enormous.

However, a new movement is on foot and is taking definite shape, but its consideration must be deferred for another mail. A. Koss.

WORDS THAT BEAR REPEATING.

"Having no quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow workers of all lands the expression of our goodwill and Socialist fraternity."

—S.P.G.B. War Manifesto, 25.8.14.

BY THE WAY.

A short time since columns of print appeared in the Press on the question of taking a Referendum in Australia with regard to the subject of Conscription. While the vote was being taken some reference to the possible result was made, and from a newspaper report I take the following:

The "Argus" looks on the result of the poll so far as a stalemate, and says the great mistake was made in taking a Referendum at all on the subject of Conscription.

And again:

"I am unable to express an opinion on the significance of the Poll as disclosed by the first figures, because, of course, I have been out of Australian politics for some time," said Sir George Reid, M.P., formerly High Commissioner in London, to a "Daily News" representative yesterday. "None the less, I deeply regret the results so far disclosed by the figures. I have heard also that there is every possibility of a strong vote against Conscription even among the men at the front."

—"Evening Standard," Oct. 30th, 1916.

At this juncture I might add there was a large majority against, consequently one is not surprised to read that a "great mistake was made" in taking a vote. But oh! if the voting had only gone the other way, wouldn't our wisecracks have said "we told you so."

Hush! Hold your breath! worse follows. The final result was received in painful silence. Without trimmings of any kind appeared the following brief report:

The final figures of the Conscription Referendum are:

Yes	1,085,000
No	1,146,000

No majority 61,000
—"Daily News," Nov. 23rd, 1916.

We have just recently had the luxury of a National Mission, and in these somewhat dull days an outdoor procession organised by "Holy Church" even adds to the gaiety of nations. I recently came across one of these processions in my travels, and took it for granted that possibly owing to so many counter attractions there was a slump in church attendance, and that our spiritual guides, in order to boost their wares, were holding a sort of minor Lord Mayor's show, or taking a leaf out of the book of the old showman, who, when giving an exhibition in some village or town, paraded the streets with big drum and such other lures as he had at command. On this occasion the "Bishop's Messenger" was the star turn who was to endeavour to draw the people. And so I gazed upon the aforementioned person, who was supported by other gentlemen of the cloth, choir boys and men, with all the appurtenances of religious ceremony, cornet players, policemen (regular variety) boy sprouts, old women of both sexes, and, finally, a rearguard of special constables.

What I was going to draw attention to is this: That I really think a special mission to the clergy is indeed necessary. A few days ago I was reading that at the annual meeting of the Bath Free Church Council an individual there made a vigorous attack on church teaching.

Mr. Wills said the reason why four-fifths of the people were outside the churches was because the ministers were not honest with the people. They did not preach what they believed. They were bound by chapel trust-deeds, and dare not speak their minds. Children in Sunday Schools were taught erroneous doctrines.

There would be a valuable revolution in churches if members of congregations were allowed to question the preacher at the close of a sermon.

"Reynolds's," Nov. 26th, 1916.

The latter suggestion, if carried out, would prove highly interesting, though perhaps a disastrous one to the gentry who have for so long enjoyed facilities of an exceptional character. It is worthy of notice that "children in Sunday schools were taught erroneous doctrines." The acceptance of religion with all its dogmas depends upon a child-like faith, and on an attitude of open your mouth and shut your eyes and believe what the man of God tells you.

The question of economy in foodstuffs brings

in its train many and varied suggested reforms. The limit of 3s. 6d. for an officer's meal must make many a woman with children turn green with envy when she has to make a like amount cover the entire week and provide other things besides meals. Really, how they manage to eke out an existence on the munificent allowance of a grateful country passeth my understanding.

The position we of the Socialist Party take up finds confirmation in many and even unexpected quarters. The poverty of the class to which we belong—the subject of our oft-repeated reference—has become a theme of intense import to our masters. On the matter of "meatless days" the following extract should be of interest:

So far as the mass of workers is concerned, it is a matter of indifference whether soup or hors d'œuvre is regarded as a course. In the same way, the establishment of meatless days once or twice a week will bring no change into the lives of the really poor. For many years most of their days have been meatless.

"Reynolds's," Dec. 10th, 1916.

These occasional allusions to the conditions of working class existence are significant and in themselves are a striking commentary on the anomalies of capitalist society.

We live in a topsy-turvy world. Within the space of four days two very remarkable announcements appeared in the Press. They are worthy of notice. One refers to the demand for women's high-legged boots, and reads as follows:

Prices for smart footwear range from two guineas to 6s. per pair. . . . The average length of fashionable uppers worn to-day is from 10 ins. to 16in., while heels are from 2½ to 3½ ins. But women's boots with uppers of bronze-coloured glaze kid, measuring as much as 22 ins., were prominently displayed. The price asked was three guineas.

"Daily Mail," Dec. 1st, 1916.

These are regarded in the light of necessities so that Lady Never Work may stroll about town in the latest mode, and perhaps, on occasion, dispense smiles and flags for a penny upwards. The other, which relates to the "poor," is somewhat brief. It states:

The Eastbourne Board of Guardians recommended poor people to buy clogs for their children. The Rev. H. V. Scott suggested that the fashion of going barefooted should be reintroduced.

"Reynolds's," Nov. 26th, 1916.

The merits or otherwise of going barefooted I do not propose to enter into, but it is sheer humbug and hypocrisy for these well-fed, well-housed, and well-groomed folk to thus talk to the producers of the world's wealth. I seriously suggest to the rev. gentleman that he should make a start by applying his recommendation to himself. Fracture would be much better than precept.

Whilst one observes posters on the walls appealing to women of all classes to undertake munition work, etc., and help win the war, it is exceedingly doubtful whether many recruits are gathered in from what might be termed the idle rich. Recently there was held a Dog Show (whether dog breeding is regarded as work of "national importance" or a "certified occupation" the reader must investigate for himself) and from the list of exhibitors appearing in the papers it is evident that they were, in the vernacular of the man in the street, "not having any" war work.

From the description given of the accommodation it almost makes one wish that one had been born a dog. I notice that—

The most precious dogs of all were in glass cases hung with little ribboned curtains. Other dogs reclined on silken cushions in show pens converted into Lilliput boudoirs. One proud and prize Pekingese had his "bench" decorated with ancient Chinese embroidered hangings of great worth. The hall was warm, nay, hot after the biting air of Kennington Road, but two toy spaniels, wrapped in a soft and fleecy shawl, still shivered.

"Daily Mail," Dec. 2nd, 1916.

The antithesis of this function might be quoted. An inquest was held on a little girl who met her death as the result of her dress catching fire whilst playing before an unguarded grate. The report says:

The mother, the English wife of a German interned at Alexandra Palace, said that the Government allowed her £10s. 3d. a week and her husband was

able to earn about 3s. To augment her income she took in washing and minded a neighbour's child, although she had five children of her own. She had no fireguard, having had to sell it twelve months ago to obtain food.

—“Reynolds's,” Nov. 26th, 1916.

To-day the pleasures and pets of modern society take precedence, but in a sane system the humans will take priority.

More light on the Old-Age Pension Act. Even at seven shillings and a tanner it is cheaper for our masters to give this dole rather than have the old people go into the workhouse. Therefore read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the following:

We hear many complaints as to the inadequacy of the assistance given to old-age pensioners to make up for the increase in prices. Local conditions differ, but some Committees are acting with great harshness, and we have heard of cases where only 1s. extra was given, though the pensioner was only kept from starvation by the charity of neighbours. The object of the Old-Age Pensions Act was to keep aged men and women out of the workhouse. The object of many of the local Committees seems to be to drive them inside.

—“Reynolds's,” Nov. 19th, 1916.

A further item on the subject of Pensions would not be amiss. Two extracts were recently given in one of the papers as hereafter follows:

The King has been pleased to grant to Sir Walter Phillimore, late one of the Lords Justices of Appeal, an annuity of £3,500 for life, commencing from Oct. 12.

The memorandum of the Treasury raising the total means of married pensioners to £1 a week and of single pensioners to 13s a week concludes by impressing on committees that the additional grant is only intended to meet cases of special hardship and emphasising “the paramount importance of economy at a time when the Exchequer has unparalleled burdens imposed on it.”

—“Daily News,” Oct. 25th, 1916.

It would indeed be interesting to hear in explicit terms what are the exact objects for which the Allies are fighting. Much has been said and written of Belgium and the “grievous wrong” that she has suffered. While in times past we were informed that “we” were fighting in order to obtain justice for that country, of late more than one reference has been made to the designs of the Allies for other territory. One newspaper correspondent writes from Petrograd thus:

“Only this morning does the Petrograd Press deal in detail with the passage of the Governmental declaration to the Duma which referred to the question of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. The *Noroe Vremya* says:

This proves more clearly than anything else the determination of the Russian Government and the Allies to carry on the war to the end, that is to say, to that moment when the capital of one of our enemies passes by right of conquest into Russian hands. In these conditions there can be no question at all of any half peace. Since Saturday the Turks must know that the war is for them not a matter of life, but only of death.

The article continues:

“The *Bourse Gazette* asks whether it is any longer possible to believe that the smallest particle of mistrust towards Russia exists in the minds of England, France, and Italy, and continues:

Together with the Dardanelles agreement there has entered into international relationships a new factor, the grandeur of which it is difficult to estimate. If England and Russia have succeeded in agreeing so cordially on this most acute and cardinal point which for so many decades had been a stumbling block in their relationships, if at an even earlier date Russia with the assistance of M. Sazonoff worked out with England a complete agreement as to the Middle East which finally liquidated all misunderstandings with regard to Persia, if with the co-operation of the same Sazonoff and the support of England we succeeded in laying down the foundations of a future alliance with Japan, which opened for us a new era in the Far East, then it is evident that there has begun to live and act in the world a new international grouping, the heart of which will be Great Britain and Russia united in common ideas.

—“Daily Telegraph,” Dec. 5th, 1916.

From which I gather that the Allies are animated with other ideas than the freeing of Belgium from German oppression.

THE SCOUT.

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

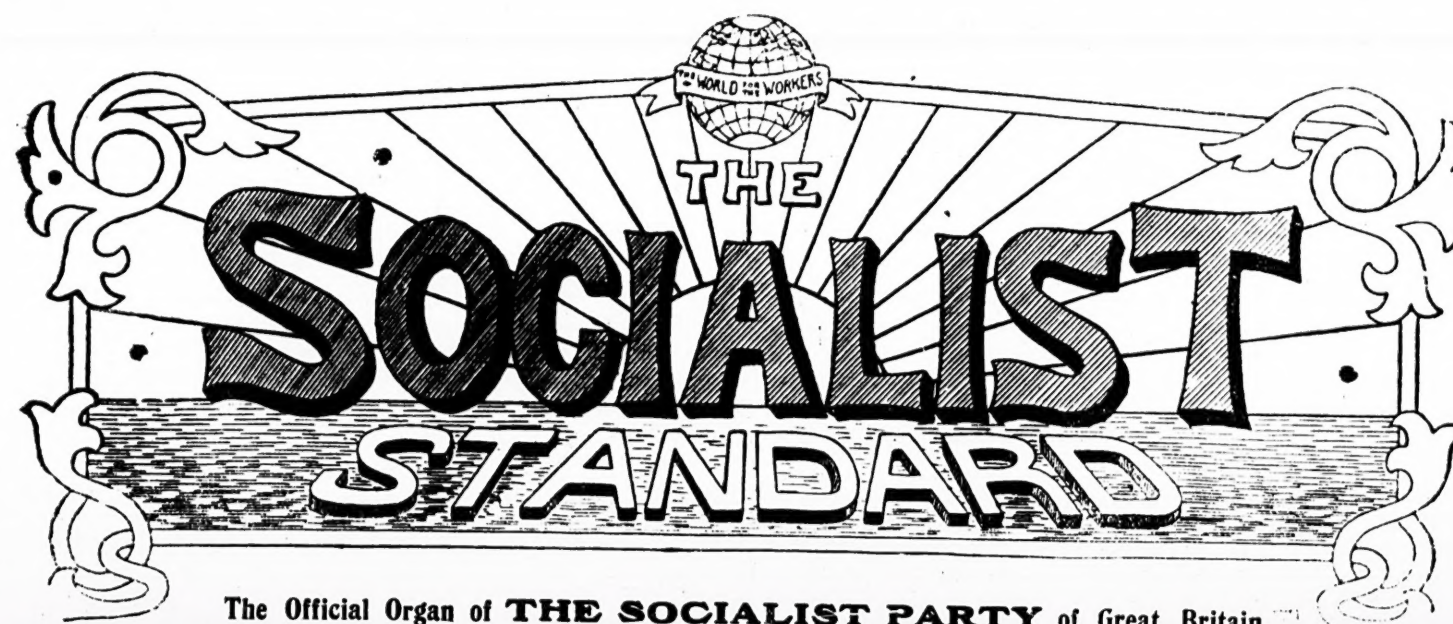
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LONDON, FEBRUARY, 1917.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE GENTLEMAN THAT PAYS THE RENT AND THE SWINE THAT TAKES IT.

Under your mighty ancestors, we Pigs
Were blessed as nightingales on myrtle sprigs,
Or grasshoppers that live on noonday dew,
And sung, old annals tell, as sweetly too;
But now our styes are fallen in, we catch
The murrain and the mange, the scab and itch:
Sometimes your royal dogs tear down our thatch,
And then we seek the shelter of a ditch;
Hog wash or grains, or ruta baga, none
Has yet been ours since your reign begun.
—Chorus of swine in Shelley's "Oedipus Tyrannus."

And Jesus sent the devils out of the man, and they
entered into the swine; and the herd ran violently
down a steep place into the lake, and were choked.
—Chapter VIII of St. Luke.

The English nation has often been accused, by its foes, of aimlessness. The truth is that, far from being fickle, the flower of the nation search down many a winding road till they find a subject, dark and despised, which needs the light of their serious genius. Fortunately we have even recent evidence of national solemnity which allows us to repudiate with scorn any suggestion of English triviality. We know not from what high quarter the earnest and stimulating influence came, nor do we intend to pry further into the secrets of the State, for it is enough to know that the humble pig, so inconsiderately dealt with by Jesus, has been given well-deserved publicity, not as so many gross pork chops or sausages, but tactfully, as the living pig, upon which the fate of the Empire depends.

It is indeed strange that pigs, since those utopian days of which Shelley writes, should have for so many generations lain under a cloud, and the whole grunting nation been despised not only by ignorant people, but even by men of considerable attainments. Like the witches of old, who were often wise women, the ancient swine must have been of an unprepossessing aspect, which would give rise to the traditional belittlement of their worth. Happily, then, there has been a reconsideration of values in society and in parliament, so that pigs as well as politicians have been assigned to different niches in the House of Life.

It is not our purpose here to enter into any consideration of the infinite variety of the pig family. We shall endeavour to do no more than indicate one or two features which are common to the whole genus. Still, at the outset, we would ask readers, who may be tainted with the journalism of the day, to cast aside their disrespect or adoration of particular pigs and view the question in a calm and dispassionate spirit. We say, with full knowledge of our grave responsibility, that the homage which has been bestowed upon, the comforts and services which have been given to certain pigs, might be extended to the entire household of swine. It would mean a broadening of our sympathies which many journalists are longing to see. This will be the more easily done if it is remembered that the

extension is one not so much of principle as of practice.

While it may be simpler to give a welcome hand to the less obviously filthy among these poor creatures, it is not good for humanity to be too sectarian. No doubt there are the cynics, even in these enlightened times, who will speak of what they call the "cleansing of society" by the universal slaughter of the whole pack of pigs. That is not our point just now for, while the patriotic must deplore such drastic words, we can easily ignore this misanthropic band who have not the interests of Empire at heart. My point is that while it is comparatively easy to join in the national admiration of the more dignified and prosperous pigs, it will be a sad reflection on our morality and discretion if we neglect the commoner brethren of the same litter. Get to your books of science, dear readers, and you will see that even those swine among the blood and muck of the sty are as capable of development, under generous cherishing as their happier sisters and brothers, whose language is admired and whose virtues are enthroned in the hearts of the people. Visit any piggery in a sympathetic spirit and it will be at once evident that, although the faculties of the imprisoned swine are to a large extent dormant, they would with kindly nourishment, warmth, and housing, soon be rivals, for the esteem of nations, with those of their kindred who possess such well-moulded buttocks and obese bellies.

The difficulties in front of a reformer in this sphere are not so great as would be supposed. It is not so much a development of the intellect in the lower animals that is required. The chief shortcoming of the pig in a sty is in its want of cleanliness. In this respect, it must be confessed, he falls sadly short of his gilded kindred. While the members of what we may call, for the mere sake of definition, the Piggy Upper Ten, are in no other way in advance of their more unfortunate neighbours (this, we believe, will be readily admitted), yet the toilette and etiquette of the former are in every way superior. The untutored pig slobbers over his slops, thrusts his snout in filth, then shows himself in deshabille to our loathing eyes; on the other hand the more punctilious swine, after meddling with filthier heaps, snivelling in other more abominable ditches and gutters, is washed and toiletted by his keepers and can even associate with a certain class of human beings on an equal footing. The chief thing, therefore, we might say the only thing, which should concern those who are anxious to establish an equality in the status of all pigs is the question of water.

None but the most violent reactionaries can deny that, while some swine are raised to lofty stations that they are incapable of maintaining with dignity, others are given no opportunity whatever. All their similarity of instincts is

glossed over, all their similarity of pigheadedness is unconsidered, and all the honours are indiscriminately given to those whose only claim to distinction is that the vile prominence of one specific feature is a little softened, while the intonation of their voices is, perhaps, a little more varied. Alluring as all these refinements may be, we are pleased to see that up-to-date journalists (in whose utterance we trace just a grain too much of egoism), are proclaiming them to be of a purely artificial and illusory nature over which the bond of blood-relationship is bound to triumph.

Nowadays, however, there is a more impartial view being taken, not only among Socialists but among other men of far different talents. While the Socialist realises, perhaps even more fully than the patriot, that the stability of the Empire depends largely upon the appreciation in which the subject of our article is held, there has been latterly, too, a perfect inferno of voices raised in his defence; the result of which will be that for years to come the name of many a public character will be inseparably linked with that of the pig.

With our protégé thus in the ascendancy we are willing to leave the rest to the humanity of our readers. In a discussion of this character we would warn newspaper readers to preserve, as far as possible, a cold and rational outlook; to remember that as we would not trust a farmer's opinion of his own wheat, a mother's opinion of her own children, so it would be as well not to put too much simple faith in the writings of those journalists whose interests are so closely allied with those of swine. We do not wish to sound a note of aloofness and we hope this warning will not be so construed. Let us say again, therefore, that our Socialism has led us to completely understand the full significance of pigs during these critical times long before the recent Press clamour. Ever since the formation of our party we have stood for equality in the treatment of swine. So it is no new departure to ask you to look not at the discrepancies between one pig and another, not to consider the differences created by favouritism, but to regard, rather, such qualities of grunting, shuffling, dawdling, and blinking which characterise the whole genus. Finally we would urge our readers to remember that however scented and petted a pig may be,

"The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
A pig's a pig for a' that."

H. M. M.

THE LATEST—

A Valhalla—a "Palace of immortality inhabited by the souls of heroes slain in battle." Christ! they wouldn't like to have to build a palace for their corpses.

BY THE WAY.

We have grown accustomed of late to hearing all sorts and conditions of men dubbed Socialists, and on seeking for the evidence in support thereof one has to admit that there is not the slightest pretext whatever for making such a claim. Only a few months ago we read of "Runciman's Socialism," because of this gentleman's action with regard to shipping and sugar. In the interest of capitalist society, as affected by the war, it was expedient that some sort of modification and control should take place; but to call even this slight State interference socialism is indeed fatuous.

With the break-up of the Coalition Government and the formation of a National Government, once again this idiotic statement of "Socialism" on the instalment principle is trotted out. In perusing that organ of Liberalism and "Voluntarism," the "Daily Chronicle," Dec. 8, 1916—the editor of which might profit from a study of Socialism—I find the following:

Whatever prove to be the details of the policy thus sketched out, it is evident that Mr. Lloyd George has it in his mind to introduce a sort of war Socialism on a very extensive scale. For this the nation, we believe, will be quite ready in principle, provided the knotty practical problems which it involves are skillfully solved in detail.

The policy referred to above is Government control of industry and the regulation of supplies and retail prices of foodstuffs. Of course the nation will be "quite ready" for any "sort of War Socialism" that will enable our capitalist masters to still retain their hold over the workers, and which also permits them to get away with the "swag."

In the same article reference was made to "Conscription of wealth in a form not yet fully explained." The vagueness of this phrase is delightful. Whilst conscription of the workers may become an accomplished fact, both for military and industrial purposes, one is hardly able to conceive the idea of Parliament promoting a bill to take in like manner the surplus wealth of the capitalist class. Verily, verily, I don't think, my brethren!

A few days later an appeal was made on behalf of the new War Loan and an offer of 5½ per cent. in return for subscribing thereto was the bait held out to the "patriotic." Mr. Bonar Law in his speech said:

We make this appeal on one ground—it is strong enough—and that is the sense of patriotism. But perhaps I may be permitted to say—and it is not unimportant—that anyone who invests in this Loan will do not a bad transaction. He will invest on better terms than have ever been possible in the past, and, I venture to express the belief, on better terms than he will ever get in the future.

—Daily News, Jan. 12th, 1917.

In another portion of the speech one reads that the Chancellor asks "Shall it ever be said of us that we were willing to give our sons, but not willing to give our money?" Ye gods! Fancy talking about giving our money at 5½ per cent. and at the same time being informed that this is an opportunity to "invest on better terms than have ever been possible in the past." It would appear that these high-minded, noble, "patriotic" souls will only give, no, pardon me, lend their money conditional upon a substantial rate of interest being offered in return.

During the progress of the war we have heard a great deal with regard to the dilution of labour scheme, and of the necessity for the introduction of labour of the female variety in what in times past had been regarded as the sole domain of the male. While in many instances the employment of women has grown to an appreciable extent, I recently came across an illustration where circumstances alter cases, don'tcherknow. The use of women in certain trades and callings may be all right in order to obtain more men for cannon fodder, but heaven forbid that women should trespass on the preserves of the legal fraternity. The announcement states:

The General Council of the Bar . . . rejected by an overwhelming majority . . . a resolution . . . that the General Council should report on

the advisability of admitting duly qualified women to the profession. —Daily Sketch, Jan. 19th, 1917.

From which it would appear that this highly organised body are not taking on any of the "dilution" of labour which its leading lights insist upon for others. Is the trade too dirty for women?

Reference was recently made in a leading article of a weekly paper to the coming Labour Conference, and to the fact that there were down for discussion various resolutions dealing with the attitude of Labour towards the Coalition Government. The writer went on to ask "Should its representatives (Labour) merely play the part of critics, or should they take a share in the work?" Following on this was a statement that a Pensions Ministry and a Labour Ministry had been created, and then a further question was asked, i.e., "Would Labour rather see George Barnes and John Hodge responsible for the conduct of those Departments or see them in the hands of ordinary Liberals or Tories?" For my part I should prefer to see them in the occupation of plain and straight Liberals or Tories, rather than of office-seekers masquerading in the guise of Labour, who, at bottom, are nothing more than hangers-on of the late Liberal Government. (Quotations from "Reynolds's," Jan. 21, 1917.)

Further, it might also be borne in mind that Hodge's first act in his role of Minister for Labour was to order back to work a number of workers who had gone on strike, with the threat of issuing a proclamation under the Munitions Act should there be any failure on their part to do so. Good capitalist henchman, this!

The confusion that exists in the ranks of the Labour movement is indeed lamentable. Small wonder is it, therefore, that the Labour shark is able to batten on the ignorance of the workers. Further point is added to this when one reads that at the coming Conference a resolution to the effect "That this Conference, believing that the continuance of this war can only bring further disaster to the workers . . . demands that the Government shall use all its efforts to bring it to an end by negotiation." Then comes an amendment to the above suggesting the deletion of certain words and inserting others which then reads: "That this Conference declares that the invasion of Belgium and France by the German armies threatens the very existence of independent nationalities and strikes a blow at all faith in treaties. In these circumstances a victory for German Imperialism would be the defeat and destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe, and pledges us to fight until victory is achieved."

One might go on to quote other instances of this kind to show the utter lack of unity in the labour world to-day. A clear recognition of their position founded on the class struggle would tend to remove these absurd and harmful misconceptions, and the day of the "labour leader" would then have passed away. Help, then, to spread the light of Socialism!

The "Daily Chronicle" (Dec. 21, 1916) commenting on the appointment of a Director-General of National Service says: "If the new plan for mobilising and organising labour can be worked energetically along voluntary lines, it may contribute a good deal towards concentrating the nation's activities on the things which really help to carry it through the war. Attempts to introduce compulsion in this field would meet with much greater difficulty; and we echo the Prime Minister's hope that no need may arise for them." (Italics mine.)

Does the "Chronicle" mean that if compulsion were applied to the idlers and shirkers in the capitalist ranks that it "would meet with much greater difficulty"? Anyway, let those same remember that compulsion for the Army commenced "along voluntary lines."

The muddling methods of our masters, like "the peace of God," "passeth all understanding." The other day I noticed an announcement that the "Class ('3) men were to be used as substitutes for the men engaged in agriculture who had been exempted and were about to be called up. Next appeared an intimation that

as a result of a conference some modification was likely to take place.

At a time when we are invited to turn our back-yards into potato and cabbage patches this taking away of essential men is, forsooth, ludicrous. From a highly patriotic paper I cull the following:

Either there is a serious food and shipping question in this country, or there is not. If there is, the proposal to take away from the already over-depleted farms some 20,000 or 30,000 of their remaining workers looks like lunacy. If there is not, why has any fuss been made about it, why has a food controller been necessary, why do we eat war bread, and why did Mr. Prothero himself describe the situation of our island as that of a besieged city?

After dealing with the diminished wheat acreage of last year, owing to the heavy recruiting in the villages, the article continues:

The announcement now made will be received with something like consternation by farmers throughout the country. Beside such a direct blow to our organised food-production the ploughing up of a few hundred acres of the royal parks, and even the conversion of a few thousand acres of vacant sites into allotments, become a hollow make-believe. —Daily Chronicle, Jan. 17th, 1917.

With regard to the second announcement on this topic it would seem to be a case of confusion worse confounded. Let me again quote from the same source:

An important man-power conference took place yesterday, at which Mr. Prothero as well as Lord Derby was present. The tone of the Minister for Agriculture's recent public reference to the C 3 men, who are promised to the farmers as "substitutes," indicates that he is himself under no delusions as to their unsuitability. C 3 men have all, it must be remembered, been pronounced by their medical examiners to be unfit not merely for soldiering of any kind, but for work in "labour units" or on "regimental outdoor employments" in this country; and except in those rare cases where they have had previous farm experience, these "piano-tuners" and clerks and similar sedentary workers can seldom earn their keep at agriculture within the duration of the war. —Daily Chronicle, Jan. 20th, 1917.

In the scramble for "men and still more men" to regain possession of Belgium and France, and incidentally, of course, Constantinople, not forgetting other commitments to the remaining gallant Allies, our masters find the subject a somewhat difficult one, hence the endeavour to fit what are evidently square pegs into round holes. The whole business is a glaring example of the "directive ability," much boomed in days gone by, of the master class.

THE SCOUT.

BRITISH HYPOCRISY EXEMPLIFIED.

Early in 1915 it was admitted in the House of Commons that aniline dyes were still coming into this country from Germany. Some time later various convictions were secured against individuals for trading with the "enemy," notably in the Fownes case. The following cutting from the "Daily Mail" of Nov. 4th last provides food for useful reflection:

"STILL TRADING WITH THE HUNS.

"MR. RUNCIMAN'S 'NATIONAL INTEREST' EXCUSE.

"The Government is still permitting trading with the enemy. Mr. Runciman's excuse is that it is in 'the national interest.' In a written reply to Colonel Norton-Griffiths he says:

Licences to import specified goods of enemy origin have been issued when it was clearly to the advantage of this country to obtain them, and the sale of British-owned goods in enemy countries has been authorised in special cases. Payments to enemies have been allowed in certain cases in order to preserve a British interest.

The main consideration is that the transaction should be proved to be so greatly to the advantage of this country as to justify a relaxation of the prohibition.

To sheepish believers and followers of the great Horatio and other "never againers," I would whisper: Smile damn you, smile!

"BOCKABOY."

SLAVES IN WAR TIME.

During the past couple of years the workers of "this country of ours" have been hearing a great deal about "poison gas" through those journals of "mud and blood," the "Daily Mail," "Sunday Chronicle," "Daily News," and "Manchester Guardian," and others of that great heap of refuse which is spread broadcast daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly, to the detriment of the wage-slaves who buy them.

This "poison gas" is the gas which is being used by the various armed nations against their opponents on the European field of slaughter. But we Socialists draw attention to another kind of "poison gas"—the doses of "mental chloroform" daily given out to the wage workers by parson, politician, and journalist—all of them hirelings of the master class.

These individuals, in order to gain life's necessities, "gas" the workers with their fairy stories concerning man's activities and his relations with other men in the material world, and fool them with the "eternal life" phantasy.

Of course, it is not to the interest of our masters to have editorials dealing with and exposing this brand of "poison gas." Such work is left to the working class itself; hence the reason and the need for the SOCIALIST STANDARD.

It is surprising to find how many workers are always ready to believe anything the papers and their masters tell them. We have heard a lot of cant and hypocrisy mouthed by parson, pressman, and politician on "Equality of Sacrifice." They wax quite eloquent on "everyone doing his bit." It is, however, rather hard to find what most of these hirelings and their masters (the employing class) have sacrificed. For instance, what have the food manufacturers, the shipping companies, or the armament firms sacrificed? Their profits?—not likely! You see what is really meant by their cant phrases is sacrifice for the "lower classes."

Everyone nowadays is aware of the huge profits that are being raked in by our "good" masters. Consequently, to the workers who have started to think for themselves the question naturally arises, "For what are we fighting?" But the reply, of course, rests upon what is meant by "we." If "we" means the workers, then the only reply can be, a more intense form of slavery in the future even than in the past, greater poverty and misery for the many, and an outlook eloquent of strikes and revolts of the workers against their miserable conditions.

On the other hand, if "we" stands for the master class, then the fighting is for the control of trade routes and the securing of further markets in which to sell their surplus manufactures; the gaining of territory in which to "collar" the natural resources, and the obtaining of cheap native labour. In other words, it means big profits now, with the chance of even bigger profits in the future.

Are we not constantly having these facts brought to our minds by flaring newspaper headlines, such as "How to Capture Germany's Trade," "How Great Britain may Increase Her Share of the World's Commerce," and so on? Then, again, have we not got such things in our midst as the Anti-German League, whose object is the smashing of the industries of Germany? Have not "our" politicians told us that as soon as the war is over we must be ready to smash the Germans on the field of commerce after having smashed them on the field of blood?

Of course, in order that the state of affairs may not be too easily seen, our masters and their agents (the "patriots") lie and bully and invent such statements to gull the workers as that this war is "a fight for Liberty and Freedom," and "a struggle to suppress German Militarism." And this, mind you, when the masters are so rapidly increasing militarism here.

Then we have the good old catch cry of the violation of Belgium's neutrality, as though any country hesitates to break treaties and make "scraps of paper" of them when it suits their interests to do so. This is admitted by that "patriot," Harold Begbie, of "Fall In" fame, when he says ("Daily Chronicle," Aug. 5, 1914), "At every Christian frontier you can pick up a broken treaty and a dishonoured bond."

Then England is supposed to be fighting for the "rights of small nations," this after what happened to the Dutch Republics a few years ago. Concerning this we might with interest read what was said at that time by Mr. Merriman, who was then an English member of the Cape Assembly. He was reported thus:

I say "never again" will England hold the title she did as the friend of small peoples. When it is a question of tyranny towards some small powers, how can she say anything? The Transvaal and the Free State will be flung in her teeth.

—"The Speaker," Oct. 27th, 1900.

And to show how kind-hearted this country was we were told:

We went into war for equal rights, and we were prosecuting it for annexation. We went into the country for philanthropy and we remained in it for burglary.—Mr. Lloyd George, reported in the "Manchester Guardian," July 26th, 1900.

All the flowery excuses which have been spread broadcast since August 1914 are but dust thrown in the eyes of the toilers to prevent them from seeing the truth.

Some very enlightening articles have recently made their appearance in the columns of the anti-working class papers. One in the "Weekly Dispatch" for March 19th, 1916, which told of the huge profits that have been, and are still being, made owing to war conditions, commenced with this valuable piece of evidence:

In this country millions have been made by companies who hold the lives of the civilian population in the hollow of their hands.

This knocks the bottom out of the statement so often made that we are fighting for our liberties. What liberties are possessed by any person whose life is held in the hollow of some other person's hand?

In the same paper for Dec. 24th last another "war profits" article appeared. To give that part which deals with armament firms, would not, perhaps, be out of place. For such people a "good" war is a heaven-sent blessing.

Munition profits—in the early months of the war at any rate—were fabulous. Recent figures in some cases, are not accessible, but here are the facts of a few typical companies' change in fortune:

	Latest Profits.	Pre-War Profits.
Armstrong	£82,300	£689,000
Cammell Laird	301,500	171,700
Curtis and Harvey	143,800	48,100
Projectile	192,700	14,000
Webbely and Scott	61,300	9,500
Thornycroft	239,670	32,000
	(6 months only.)	

From such instances we can see how well the master class can afford to invest a portion of their profits in the War Loan at 5 per cent. Yet they would have us believe they are making a sacrifice. A sacrifice at 5 per cent. smells good. The fellows who are making the sacrifices are the workers, who are being used as food for cannon, and who, when they return broken from the war, are not even given the bare means of existence.

How often do we find in the daily and weekly Press such headlines as "Starved under Hun Rule"? Yet what about the thousands of starvation cases under the rule of the Brit-hun?

That high-class organ of piffle and bluff, the "Daily Dispatch," on Aug. 9th last commenced its editorial in the following strain:

Among the good resolutions we all made in entering this war was one that the scandalous treatment that in past wars was meted out to our broken soldiers should not this time disgrace our national fame.

We recalled Mr. Robert Blatchford's piercing remark about "the candidate for the British workhouse charging the guns at Balaklava," and nothing had bitten deeper into the nation's conscience than the spectacle of war-worn veterans, with medals on their chests, selling matches and bootlaces at back doors. We rightly resolved, at any rate, that that must never happen again.

After pondering over the latter part the only conclusion one can come to is that our masters never expected any of their warriors, even the wrecked ones, to return. Of course, the attempt is made to convey the impression that every provision is made for those of our "Tommyies" who come back maimed, but does anyone with the least common sense believe that? No! "Equality of sacrifice" is a fine phrase for rogues to use and fools to swallow.

The shareholders in shipping, tea, armament, coal, iron, milling and other companies, are

obtaining dividends of from 35 to 40 per cent. without ever having done a day's work to earn it. On the other hand, the man who has been broken in fighting for such shareholders gets a pension of 8d. a day and is buried a pauper. Even this is not the worst, for the "Weekly Dispatch" for Dec. 20th says there are "50,000 broken soldiers without pensions."

One has only to go through the daily papers to find scores of cases regarding the treatment of the broken Tommy. Space admits only of a few in the present article, but each goes to prove our contention. Thus we read in our masters' papers accounts like these:

At a meeting of the Redruth Urban Council a member declared that numbers of soldiers, broken in the war, called on him every day stating that they were unable to secure employment of any kind and had to go to the workhouse to get food.

—"Manchester Evening News," Feb. 3rd, 1916.

A case was reported this week where two heroes found their way into the workhouse because they were unable to get any allowance from the War Office. It is this sort of thing that does a great deal of harm and in itself is entirely indefensible.

—"Reynolds's," Feb. 13th, 1916.

Of course, we know the "harm" our masters are afraid of. It is not that the soldiers may "demand" a mere allowance, but that the above treatment may help in a large degree to awaken the workers from their slumbers, in which case the wage slaves, becoming intelligent and understanding the class struggle, will not waste their time demanding anything, but will turn their energies toward the capture of the political machinery, in order to abolish capitalism and its many evils.

"A grateful country will never forget you." So runs the cry. The following shows the amount of truth in it:

AN EX-SOLDIER'S PLIGHT.

NO PENSION, NO FOOD, AND NO SHELTER.

"I am a discharged soldier," said a man who asked a West London magistrate for advice. "I have served my King and country for twelve years, eight months. I have been in France gassed and wounded. I came out time-expired, and went back again for 180 days in the Royal Garrison Artillery. Since I have been discharged I have only had two sums of 10s. from the Soldiers and Sailors Association. I have been sleeping out for several nights and have had no food for two or three days." The man, who looked very ill, had had no pension, and the magistrate said if the story was true it was a case of very great hardship, and directed the court missionary to investigate the case, and, in the meantime, to give the man a little help.

—"News of the World," Oct. 8th, 1916.

And in the Manchester edition of the "Daily Dispatch" for Aug. 18th last there was a photograph of a man standing alongside a street organ, and underneath were the words: "Not receiving the pension due to him, a Manchester soldier, disabled at Ypres, turns a street barrel organ for a living."

These cases go to show the attitude of the ruling class toward the workers, and are irresistible evidence that it was rank hypocrisy when they tried to make us believe that they intended to "make good" to the "heroes."

Those of the discharged "Tommyies" who can work are treated in a similar way. The following, although it has been quoted in these columns before, will show the truth of my statement:

Army and Navy men wanted who have done their bit; bring discharge papers; salary 28s. a week to start with. —"Daily Chronicle," July 21st, 1916.

There is magnificent generosity for our gallant warriors; 28s. a week for those "who have done their bit"! One would like to ask, where is their country now? The truth is the workers of all lands, whether they be Germans, Russians, Frenchmen, Belgians, Englishmen, or Italians, have no country; they are but the slaves of those who own and control society's means of production.

The war, we Socialists hope, will be the means of enlightening large numbers of our fellow workers as to their true position in society.

To us the only hope of freedom, comfort, and happiness lies in "A system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community." And this can only be brought about by the workers learning and understanding the Socialist position.

H. C. A.

But this only proves what has already been stated here, that Thorne is not a Socialist. And

This is the difference, then, between Mr. Thorne and his like on the one hand and the Socialist on the other—and it is the difference between an International composed of Labour adventurers and one consisting of Socialists and founded upon Socialist principles. For the former Mr. Thorne may be permitted to speak—for the latter he never shall. Any Congress which may be engineered and set up by men of the kidney of these is doomed to be rotten at the start, since it must start with the assumption that the workers must defend their masters' property. It must therefore crumble at the test, whether it is confined to the "Allies" and neutrals or not.

Already, perhaps, the worker, even while of school age, has begun to attend the mystic ceremonies of god-worship. Here, half hypnotised by the solemn music and the haunting chants, he listens to the sonorous intonations of the priest, a man skilled in the compounding of phrases with high-sounding words, but usually devoid of intelligent meaning, and cunningly calculated to soothe into contentment the weary and the heavy-laden. Preying upon the ignor-

While it is true that the general views of the "intellectuals" are usually better defined, more logical, and partake more of the character of a "system" than do those of the "crowd," yet the fact remains that they also accept, in the main, the same fundamental premises on which to base their reasoning, and it is these premises which have to be discarded before the intel-

Apart from the superficial trimmings which embellish them, and which themselves are far

R. W. HOUSLEY.

The entrance to the Peiho was defended by the Taku Forts. On June 20th, 1859, Mr. Bruce and the French Envoy reached the mouth of the Peiho with Admiral Hope's fleet, some nineteen vessels in all, to escort them. They found the forts defended; some negotiations and inter-communications took place, and a Chinese official from Lien-tsen came to Mr. Bruce and endeavoured to obtain some delay or compromise. Mr. Bruce became convinced that the condition of things predicted by Lord Elphinstone was coming about, and that the Chinese Authorities were only trying to defeat his purpose. He called on Admiral Hope to clear a passage for his vessels. When the Admiral brought up his vessels the forts opened fire. The Chinese artillerymen showed unexpected skill and precision. Four of the gunboats were almost immediately disabled. All the attacking vessels got aground. Admiral Hope

attempted to storm the forts. The attempt was a complete failure.

It seems only fair to say that the Chinese at the mouth of the Peiho cannot be accused of perfidy. They had mounted the forts and barricaded the river openly and even ostentatiously. The English Admiral knew for days and days that the forts were armed, and that the passage of the river was obstructed. Some of the English officers who were actually engaged in the attempt of Admiral Hope frankly repudiated the idea of any treachery on the part of the Chinese, or any surprise on their own side.

Accordingly, after this fiasco, France and England, in the time-dishonoured fashion, sent out an army which, after various successes, marched upon Peking. The Chinese then endeavoured to enter into peace negotiations. Before the negotiations took place, however, several English and French were seized under a flag of truce and sent to various prisons, where, as a result of ill-treatment, thirteen died. This fact may appear black against the Chinese, but the reader must bear in mind the injustices China had already suffered (one or two of which have been narrated in these articles) from the Europeans which had aroused their hatred, and also the unprovoked invasion of their country, or, in the "Great War" terminology, the "violation" of their "territory." It is further necessary to bear in mind that the customs and practices during warfare of a native population such as the Chinese differ, from those of the Western nations, and the former, therefore, cannot be judged according to Western standards of morality.

However, the gentle manner in which the agents of the European Governments initiated the Chinese into their code of morals (which they do not adhere to themselves!) will be gathered from the following further quotation from McCarthy (p. 236):

It was only after entering the city that Lord Elgin learned of the murder of the captives. He then determined that the Summer Palace should be burnt down as a means of impressing the minds of the Chinese Authorities generally with some sense of the danger of treachery and foul play. Two days were occupied in the destruction of the palace. It covered an area of many miles. Gardens, temples, small lodges, and pagodas, groves, grottoes, lakes, bridges, terraces, artificial hills, diversified the vast space. All the artistic treasures, all the curiosities, archaeological and other, that Chinese wealth and Chinese taste, such as it was, could bring together, had been accumulated in this magnificent pleasure. The surrounding scenery was beautiful. The high mountains of Tartary ramparted one side of the enclosure. The buildings were set on fire; the whole place was given over to destruction.

Who were the first "Huns" and "Vandals"? Could Louvain or any other case hold a candle to this tremendous destructive revenge perpetrated by the "cultured" nations? But I forget—this was simply a means of impressing Christian civilisation on the heathen Chinese! McCarthy concludes with the somewhat cynical remark—

Perhaps the most important gain to Europe from the war was the knowledge that Peking was not by any means so large a city as we had all imagined it to be, and that it was on the whole rather a crumbling and tumble-down sort of place.

NEW HEBRIDES.

From China to Australasia. A thousand miles off the coast of Queensland lies the group of volcanic islands known as the New Hebrides, which were discovered by Capt. Cook in 1771. When these islands first came within the ken of Europeans they were inhabited by simple, timid, and trusting savages. In the wake of Cook, however, followed the usual double-dealing sandalwood and other traders to fleece and "civilise" the natives.

Originally the native population of these islands was put at some hundred thousand souls, but the cankering influence of the civilised nations has year by year reduced the population.

During 1906 England and France entered a convention for the more thorough exploitation of these islands, and an examination of the correspondence relating thereto (Cd 3288, published in 1907) brings to light some interesting facts as to the condition of affairs and the exceeding happiness thrown upon the natives by the shadow of "our" great British Empire!

Article VIII. of the regulations lays it down that natives shall not be able to become citizens

or even subjects of the two signatory powers; but yet shall be compelled to obey all police regulations and other laws made by the Powers.

Articles XLII., XLVII., and XLIX. deal with a labourer who has been idle or absent without leave or has been unusually slow or stupid, or has broken any of his owners' rules, or has refused to obey an order of his task-masters, some of whom may be New Caledonian convicted criminals. In any of these cases he may be fined or imprisoned or his term may be lengthened. A labourer who escapes from bondage is to be seized and forcibly returned to his owner. No one may harbour a refugee or give him work or food or help him to escape.

The natives work fourteen hours a day, seven days a week, for a wage of 10s. per month. No compensation is allowed for death or injury.

The Aborigines Protection Society have republished the investigations of M. Pierre Pennus, which originally appeared in the French Press in 1913.

He says:

The great anxiety of the settlers is to recruit native labour. This becomes every day more difficult, for, from a variety of causes, the population is going down. . . . It is very probable that if they offered the natives fair wages and assured them of humane treatment, the settlers would get the labour they need, but the natives are treated like beasts of burden, and even this is a euphemism, for beasts of burden are taken care of. Their work is overwhelming and their wages ridiculously small, often paid in kind, contrary to the terms of the regulations. It has become nearly impossible to obtain voluntary labour, and so one of the most disgusting forms of slavery has been established to procure labourers. The settlers equip a boat and go from island to island; sometimes by craft and sometimes by violence they seize the native men and women whom they want. This is what the English call kidnapping, or as we call it in good French, "La Traite." Women and young girls are forcibly taken away from their husbands or relatives, and often find themselves at the mercy of the savage crews of the ships before they are sent to the plantations. Cases of sheer violence are numerous and are established by irrefutable documents.

In truth the slave trade is re-established under the most abominable conditions, and it is tolerated by the authorities, who look upon kidnapping as an offence of no importance. . . . When taken to the plantations the natives are there treated like slaves during the years of their preterred contract of engagement. They are detained by force and cruelly flogged if they try to escape. If a labourer succeeds in running away, his comrades are subjected to a long term of servitude. What difference is there between this and the slavery of old times?

Now one last quotation just to buckle the case—and this one shall be from an eminently religious source which is, of course, above all doubt!

The "Daily News and Leader" published (15.8.13) an article relating to a document received from a conference of Protestant Churches in the New Hebrides, held at Paam. The following extracts from this article give further information for working-class archives of the oppression of the toilers. The document states:

The time has come when we can no longer refrain from calling the attention of the people of the British Empire to the deplorable condition of things existing in this group of islands.

A Frenchman named Le C—, it is related, was indicted before the French National Court on July 16, 1912, for the murder of a Santo native named Nip at Big Bay, Santo, in the month of October, 1911. It appeared from the evidence of six natives and a white man that Le C—, who was the captain of a small recruiting ship called the St. Joseph, was at anchor near the shore; several natives came on board for the purpose of trading, or partly out of curiosity. Le C— suddenly pulled up anchor and hoisted sail. There was then a scene of some disturbance, the natives protesting against their being taken away. The boy Nip jumped overboard, apparently with the object of swimming ashore. Le C— fired two shots at him with his revolver. Blood was seen by six of the witnesses on the boy's neck. He was seen to struggle for a moment and then disappeared from view, and has never been seen again.

The Court found Le C— guilty of common assault, and under Article 311 of the French penal code he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment with the benefit of the First Offenders Act, and walked out of the Court a free man.

It has been the glory of Britain that wherever the flag flies the native born has in course of time been brought under elevating influences. Here, on the contrary, the things that make for degradation and oppression are still operative. Grog selling, illegal recruiting, and kidnapping are as rife as ever, and there is no improvement in the moral situation so far as governmental initiative is concerned.

The majority of French plantations furnish ex-

amples of an exploitation which can only be denominated slavery.

Such are the doings of our great and good masters in the New Hebrides.

NEW ZEALAND.

We have arrived in New Zealand, the land of the Maori—until the white man appropriated it!

In 1862 the Maoris rebelled against the inroads of the colonists. It was the old tale—the last stand of the natives against the grasping policy of the Western traders, land-grabbers, and exterminators of native populations.

I think I cannot do better than give an account of the insurrection in the words of Justin McCarthy (p. 253):

The tribe of the Waikatos, living near Auckland, in the Northern Island, began a movement against the colonists, and this became before long a general rebellion of the Maori natives. The Maoris are a remarkably intelligent race, and are skilful in war as well as in peace. They had a certain literary art among them; they could all, or nearly all, read and write; many of them were eloquent and could display considerable diplomatic skill. They fought so well in this instance that the British troops actually suffered a somewhat serious repulse in endeavouring to take one of the Maori palisade-fortified villages. In the end, however, the Maoris were of course defeated. The quarrel was a survival of a long-standing dispute between the colonists and the natives about land. It was, in fact, the old story: the colonists eager to increase their stock of land, and the natives jealous to guard their quickly vanishing possessions. The events led to grave discussion in Parliament. The Legislature of New Zealand passed enactments confiscating some nine million acres of the native lands, and giving the Colonial Government something like absolute and arbitrary power of arrest and imprisonment. The Government at home proposed to help the colonists by a guarantee to raise a loan of one million to cover the expenses of the war, or the colonial share of them, and this proposal was keenly discussed in the House of Commons. The Government passed their Guarantee Bill, not without many a protest from both sides of the House that colonists who readily engaged in quarrels with the natives must at some time or other be prepared to bear the expenses entailed by their own policy.

Before continuing our tour I will just remind the reader of a recent incident that occurred in New Zealand, this time not to the natives, but to our white fellow slaves.

The "Daily News and Leader" contained certain revelations of the effect of Compulsory Military Service under the Defence Act in New Zealand, from which the following is culled:

So numerous were the youths who elected to go to prison rather than pay the fines, that the usual places of incarceration became too small, and for a time they were confined two in a cell. Afterwards the Military Fortress of Pigeon Island was utilized, and those whose conscience forbade their undertaking military duties were removed thither.

The life of a prisoner on this island is anything but pleasant, according to Mr. Worrall's story to a "Daily News" representative. Twenty-three hours of the day are spent in solitary confinement, half an hour each in the morning and evening being set apart for exercise. The little food allowed is of indifferent quality, and on one occasion the prisoners resorted to a hunger strike, demanding either sufficient and good food or none.

On conviction only the initial offence is expunged, and refusal to enrol at the time of liberation means certain re-arrest. Thus a lad convicted at the age of 14 might spend the next sixteen years of his life in the Fortress.

Yes, dear friends, this happened within the pale of the Great and Glorious Freedom-Loving British Empire and, note well, before the commencement of the European war.

Well, I have no doubt you will all rush to crush Prussian militarism after the above instance of British freedom!

Come, pull up your socks, and we'll seek scenes fresh and pastures new.

GILMAC.

The democracy of our masters is shown once again in the projected electoral reforms. The good old democratic institution of plural voting is to be retained in the shape of business and university qualifications. But the democracy of the Conference fairly bubbles over in their recommendation that "no person who has received poor relief other than medical relief for less than 30 days in the aggregate during the qualifying period shall be disqualified." This, surely, is a concession secured by some far-seeing labour representative in favour of "our gallant heroes."

CATHOLIC IRONY.

—O—

The Catholic Truth Society is issuing, among other confusionist and superstitious works, a pamphlet entitled "The Church and Socialism." It consists of a paper read by Mr. Hilaire Belloc, M.P., at the Catholic Conference held at Manchester in 1909. The society, in continuing its publication, evidently consider it valuable as a means to combat Socialism. They, presumably, endorse the extravagant claims of Mr. Belloc with regard to the efficacy of the Catholic religion to withstand the otherwise victorious progress of Socialist propaganda. What does Mr. Belloc claim? On page 1 he says:

The Movement of Socialism as it advances, discovers no other serious opponent besides the Catholic Church; and in a general survey of Europe I cannot but believe that the struggle between these two forces is the matter of our immediate future.

The Catholic Church is not merely one of the props of capitalist society; it is something more. Every other party and creed is visibly crumbling before the march of Socialism. Roman Catholicism is the only sure barrier which stands between a ruling class incapable of its own defence and a subject class rapidly awakening to a consciousness of its wrongs and its power. Self-advertisement of this kind has become quite familiar. The rivalry between anti-Socialist organisations and their claims for notice are tributes to the increasing popularity of Socialism and evidence of capitalist recognition of its potentialities. The immortal Catholic Church, with its ancient and venerable traditions, its apostolic succession and its divine papacy, enters the service of a degenerate ruling class in competition with the Anti-Socialist Union, the Liberal and Tory Parties, and the Labour Party, all of which in their respective fashions, combat Socialism with lies, misrepresentation, and confusion.

Those who know the real history of the Catholic Church, its sordid struggle for wealth and power during the Middle Ages, and its ruthless suppression of knowledge and rational thought, will expect from its sycophants little beyond their customary stolid faith in painted images and a sluggish and unreasoning antipathy to everything that is new. This hidebound inertia of the Catholic Church is a characteristic receiving general recognition. Mr. Belloc seems fully alive to it, for he devotes a considerable space in his paper to an attempted refutation of it—so much so that the reader wonders when his eulogy will cease and some evidence of Catholic efficiency be forthcoming.

Among other things Catholic opposition is "novel and challenging" to the Socialist, who is made to think after the "unworthy opponents" he is accustomed to.

The arguments that Socialists are accustomed to meet in their own non-Catholic surroundings are either puerile or vicious; the demolition of such arguments is too facile a task to occupy an intelligent mind, and the Socialist by the very exercise of such a controversy against ineptitude grows to think there is no permanent obstacle to the propagation of his system—it is merely a question of time.

"The vulgar capitalist arguments" is a reference that gives promise of some intellectual opposition to come, but when Mr. Belloc says on page 4 that—

Socialists are at once the most sincere and the most actively curious of men. They seek out everywhere men of all kinds to convince them of justice: it is their occupation and their very breath; and in this process they will learn what all travelled and experienced men appreciate, that the spirit of the Church is not the spirit of intellectual superiority. The Catholic irony, the Catholic rhetoric, the Catholic rapidity of synthesis, the Catholic predilection for general ideas and for strict deduction therefrom, the Catholic passion for definition and precise thought—

and much more of the same kind, he exhibits a display advertisement as gross and vulgar as any quack poster.

No capitalist party, organisation, or champion up to the present has been able to meet Socialism with argument. The Catholic Church may prostitute its "irony, rhetoric, and rapidity of synthesis" to the service of capitalism, but these qualities have been enlisted in that cause before, and have met with derision from those sufficiently intelligent to observe the absence of argument. If Socialism cannot be defeated by

argument, its success is only a question of time, because there is an increasing tendency on the part of the workers to examine carefully and critically the pretensions of every political party. Impelled by the worsening of his conditions, the worker's scrutiny becomes ever more close. Irony and rhetoric will not sway him; he will need ideas based on the essential facts of working-class conditions. His philosophy will be built up on facts, because the preservation of a system by an artificial philosophy will mean the preservation of conditions inimical to his interests.

The "Catholic passion for definition and precise thought" has yet to be proved. Mr. Belloc, in his paper, certainly repeats definitions, but they are of the dogmatic kind, and because they are false, only reveal the absence of precise thought. For instance, he asserts that—

The test thesis of Socialism is this—that man would be better and happier were the means of production in human society controlled by Government rather than by private persons or corporations.

Having thus failed to define Socialism correctly, he further adds to the confusion by referring to the "Socialisation of the means of production, which he (the Socialist) regards as morally exterior to the category of ownable things." As State control could only rest on class ownership, Mr. Belloc's "test thesis" is in contradiction to his later description of the Socialist's moral attitude. Again, Mr. Belloc realises that Socialism will end exploitation. With him "the influence of the State in economic affairs"—nationalisation of industries, etc.—is not Socialism. The Socialist who argues that way indulges in a "hoary fallacy." Further, he says:

The principle of Socialism is that the means of production are morally the property not of individuals but of the State; that in the hands of individuals, however widely diffused, such property exploits the labour of others, and that such exploitation is wrong.

These statements, appearing side by side in the same composition, are the opposite of explicit or definite; they are conflicting and confusing. Mr. Belloc conceives a real Socialism based upon indisputable principles as through a mist of idealism, and then endeavours to reconcile his conception with a current definition coined in ignorance and clung to because neither he nor any capitalist defender dare face the truth, established by science and confirmed by history and common sense:—That the logical alternative to capitalism, with its private or class ownership of the means of wealth production, is common ownership with democratic control.

The boasted superiority of the Catholic opposition to Socialism is a bubble that is easily pricked. We have seen how Mr. Belloc shirks the real issue, just as other anti-Socialists do. Like them, too, he is compelled to admit the utter failure of capitalism. He says (p. 5):

Here is modern industrial society, evil beyond expression, cruel, unjust, cowardly and horribly insecure.

The hideousness of it drives him at once into Utopia—

a community composed of, we will say, two farming families, each family to be the owner of its farm and each to employ the members of the other in certain forms of labour which those members are especially skilled in. To the Catholic such a condition of society presents itself as absolutely just.

In other words, the Catholic solution is—divide the means of wealth-production among the people according to some principle of equity yet to be discovered, and preserve the relationship between employer and employed because some such force is necessary to satisfy the instinct of ownership inherent in man.

This property instinct is the central idea of Mr. Belloc's paper; like the rest, it is not new. For if he proves that man, either by creation or evolution, is possessed of a fundamental instinct to possess the means of life for himself, then the whole of the working class, being propertyless, are committed to uncompromising hostility to the property-owning class, by virtue of Mr. Belloc's reasoning. Again, if ownership of the actual means of production is essential and elementary, why are shareholders content to hold paper scrip which only represents a portion in the abstract? No shareholder would think of entering a factory of which he was part owner,

and claiming a portion as his individual property; he is quite satisfied, as a rule, to participate in the annual dividends.

Of course, Mr. Belloc is quite unable to establish the truth of his central idea. He asserts it thus:

this institution of ownership is not merely a civil accident unconnected with the destiny of the soul, nor a thing deliberately set up by man, as are so many of the institutions of a State, but a prior thing based, created with man himself, inseparable from him, and close in touch with the sense of right and wrong, etc.

Mr. Belloc, in this instance, has visions of the "Garden of Eden," with Adam in full possession, his instinct for ownership as strong as the curiosity that proved fatal to his continued sojourn in that Elysium, and both inspired by a Creator whose ultimate intention was capitalist society, "evil beyond expression, cruel, unjust, cowardly and horribly insecure." Mr. Belloc only succeeds in throwing the blame on a "God," whose creatures, silenced by death, have left no word that could be used in his defence, in such circumstances.

The "Catholic passion for precise thought, for general ideas and strict deduction therefrom," goes by the board with Mr. Belloc's reliance on dogma. By attributing the property instinct to creation he comes into violent conflict with science. Hence his passion is only for the words associated with science—not the substance, but merely the envelope. Science denies the existence of a creator—Mr. Belloc's only authority, and that a looking-glass held to his own mind. He cannot plead ignorance, for Science is most emphatic in its assertion that the property idea has developed along with other ideas and institutions as a result of material conditions.

Lewis H. Morgan, LL.D., says:

The idea of property has undergone a similar growth and development. Commencing at zero in savagery, the passion for the possession of property, as the representative of accumulated subsistence, has now become dominant over the human mind in civilised races.

This passage occurs in his preface to his own work, "Ancient Society," on page 5 of which he says:

The idea of property was slowly formed in the human mind, remaining nascent and feeble through immense periods of time. Springing into life in savagery, it required all the experience of this period and all the subsequent period of barbarism to develop the germ and to prepare the human brain for the acceptance of its controlling influence. Its dominance as a passion over all other passions marks the commencement of civilisation. It not only led mankind to overcome the obstacles which delayed civilisation, but to establish political society on the basis of territory and of property. A critical knowledge of the evolution of the idea of property would embody, in some respects, the most remarkable portion of the mental history of mankind.

Thus Mr. Belloc's main thesis was shattered before it was harboured in his brain. He may reiterate this broken thesis clothed in the Catholic irony and rhetoric, but even their aerial pungency can have no disintegrating effect on scientific truth. His chief argument was still-born—met and destroyed before it was uttered; an abortion of the Catholic mind. It took shape only to dissolve at its first contact with the hard, material world, and Mr. Belloc is left with nothing but his "Catholic irony and rhetoric," his only weapons in the field of controversy—unless the "Catholic Church," not to be behind its competitors, has already cultivated the art of lying and confusion in the interest of its capitalist masters. F. F.

The Labour Conference at Manchester spent a busy time dealing with questions of vital importance to the working class. They passed resolutions in favour of the following:

Increased tax on unearned incomes.
High taxation of luxuries.
Direct taxation of land values.
Nationalisation of the banking system.

There were, of course, other resolutions that show with what unerring instinct these Labour statesmen place their fingers on the sore and galling spots of working-class existence. But the highwater mark of their genius was reached in their subtle chiding of neutrals for not "joining in" by calling for a conference of "Allied Labour only"! Now, S.L.P. of A.!

THE LABOUR WASTERS IN AUSTRALIA.

Under the heading of "Australia's Labour Split," I noticed a few days ago in the English Press that the united front had somewhat crumpled up. An intimation was conveyed to all and sundry that "Mr. Hughes and the Liberal leader, Mr. Cook, after a day's consultation, finally failed yesterday to arrive at an agreement for the creation of either a National or a Coalition Ministry, or for a political compact enabling Mr. Hughes to attend the Special Imperial War Cabinets immediately." ("Daily Chronicle," Jan. 9th, 1917.) Mention was also made that only an early General Election can produce a stable Government for Commonwealth defence.

From another source comes an article dealing with Mr. Hughes and his conscription campaign which makes somewhat interesting reading. A few quotations, therefore, might not be amiss.

Has Australia fallen from a democracy to a wretched despotism? It seems very like it. It is not democracy that rules in Australia now, although the widest principle of a democracy has just been exerted here. That is what makes the present Government so anomalous. The people were allowed to decide on a great question of policy. With the policy went those who proffered it. Both the principle of conscription and its advocates were tried by the democracy—and cast down. Yet, despite the voice of the people, those who advocated conscription as a vital policy are still governing the erstwhile democracy in Australia!

It is something new in democracy to find the people appealed to and when the appellants are rejected to have them still claiming the right to rule.

He came back to this country hot for conscription. He found his party, that had been elected to administer Australia's government at the last election, would not sanction that policy, so he chose to cleave from his colleagues, and test his right in the supreme court of democracy—the Referendum. He did so—and was defeated.

Only last month Australia was permitted to think herself a wide democracy. She functioned as such; but her power was appealed to only to be turned into futility. Just as well for Australians to know their position. They are continually being told that a war is being waged for the upholding of privileges of democracy.

Now a military oligarchy has supplanted the vaunted form of democratic rule that is so paraded and virtuously dilated upon by our war-purring champions.

So not only is conscription out of the question in Australia, but the present enthronement of despotism here in this land of free democracy gives the lie to any freedom plea for the purposes of war. If the last great demand of the people is to be nullified by the action of a democracy-mocker, on what ground can the name of Freedom be now used in the exhortation of strife?

—"The Socialist," Melbourne, Nov. 17th, 1916.

The article finishes up by stating that "Mr. Hughes is damned and discarded," and "there is only one way by which he can retain office—and that is in defiance of the democracy. That way loses any right of his to ask the manhood of this country to take up arms in defence of 'democratic institutions.'" So much, then, for another Labour fakir.

S. T.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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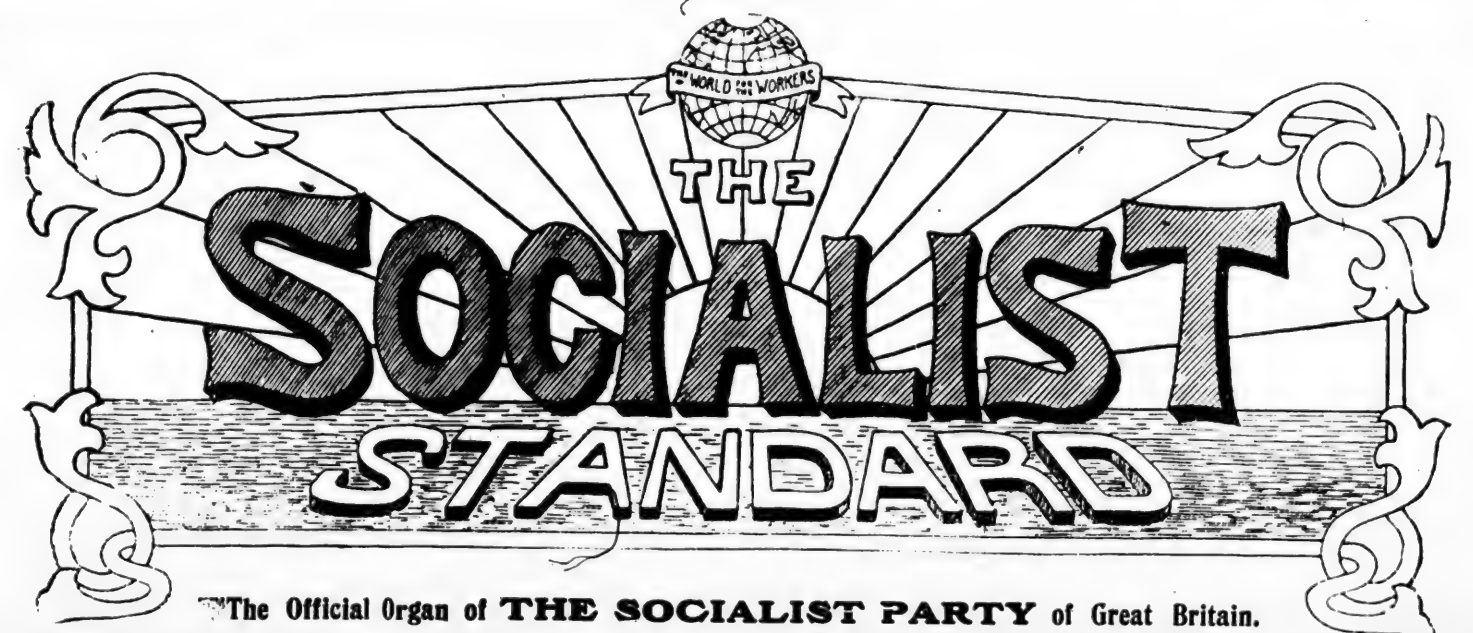
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LONDON, MARCH, 1917.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

A GUILDED PILL.

AN OLD AND DISCREDITED BELLY-GRIPE IN A NEW BUT THIN DISGUISE.

A Review of the National Guilds' publications: "The Guild Idea," "Towards a Miners' Guild," "National Guilds," and "The Guildsman," Jan. 1917.

When a new organisation, offering a programme to the workers, presents in glowing language a vivid picture of their system as they see it; when details, carefully chosen, have been elaborated and, objections, advanced by themselves, met and destroyed, it is just as well to be inquisitive, if not suspicious. While it would not be true to say that every quack who harps on the virtues of perfect health advertises worthless remedies, many adopt that method for the same reason that the angler baits his hook. The founders of the "National Guilds League" may honestly believe they have worked out a solution of the poverty problem by explaining how their system would work when established; but the average worker will have scant sympathy for their imaginative efforts unless the means of establishment are made plain. It is one thing to tell the worker that—

His job would be secure; he would be subject to the control neither of a capitalist nor a capitalist's nominee, nor of an outside official, appointed from above, but of his own fellows. He would be controlled only by foremen and managers of his own choosing, making goods for use and not for profit.

but quite another thing to persuade him to "kick against the pricks" indefinitely in the vain effort to achieve it when neither science nor common sense dictates the line of action.

Industrial Unionism is the basis of the Guild philosophy. Trade Unions are the starting point; the first move being to make them black-leg proof. The Trades Councils must carry on propaganda to this end. Next, the reformism of Trade Unions must give way to—

a more revolutionary idea: the attempt to ameliorate will be replaced by the attempt to attain freedom through the destruction of the wage-system.

With this must come the amalgamation of all Unions and the complete organisation of both "manual workers and salariat."

Next, Arbitration must be abolished and the Conciliation Board must become a Negotiation Board dealing with every question that can possibly arise between employer and employee, until the Negotiation Boards are made the real controlling bodies in every industry.

Briefly this is an outline of the Guild's proposals. Trade Unions may or may not develop into Industrial Unions; but granting they do, assuming that the workers become organised into "one fighting force," that the proposed "Boards of Negotiation," with the full support of the organised workers, demand control of the means of wealth production, must the ruling class submit?

The Guild think that under the threat of a General Strike they will. Historical precedents and the experience of trade unionists in many a brutal conflict contradict their gratuitous assumption. In such a crisis the real power would still be on the capitalist side, and the "Negotiation Boards" with the workers behind them might have bullets for breakfast, dinner, and tea without affecting the appetites of their masters or the wherewithal to satisfy them.

In pamphlet No. 3 we are told that—

The way to oust the employer is to render him unnecessary, and this can only be done by securing an ever-increasing share in control, and so eventually thrusting the owner from his monopoly.

This is the climax to an insinuating movement which is plausibly outlined from such small beginnings as, for example, the formation of a committee of employers and workers to deal with absenteeism, but extended to questions of discipline and management at the demand of the Derbyshire miners. V.H.R. in "The Guildsman" admits that a measure of "workshop control" may be conceded, or even imposed, by the capitalist in his own interest, to reduce friction and increase output. But what the Guild overlook is the fact that, so far as actual production and distribution is concerned, the capitalist is unnecessary to-day. He performs no useful function whatever, yet capitalists as a class continue to appropriate the total wealth produced by the workers.

It is this appropriation that the Guild propose to abolish by means of the General Strike. This is their real weapon—the "Boards of Negotiation" are the instruments. And—

as the power of the workers increases, control will be transferred gradually to them from the employers. This, however, will never come about unless the unions keep intact the right to strike, on which their power depends.

Thus "The Guild Idea" is the Industrial Unionist pill coated with the gold leaf of an imaginative Utopia. An idea only, sentimental and economically unsound, its founders speak correctly when they describe it as "a gamble" ("The Guild Idea," p. 13). It is a gamble, but a gamble without even a sporting chance for the workers.

In the same place we are told that—

The economic basis of our society is struggle, the struggle to buy labour cheap and sell it dear. In such a warfare the most powerful weapon is monopoly. The capitalists are dominant in proportion to their monopoly of the means of production; the workers in the same way can exercise power just in so far as labour is scarce or organised. . . . Both parties are driven by the economic struggle to obtain a complete monopoly, and this can only be done by careful regulation of both labour and of capital. The extent to which Labour has held its own is the extent to which it has been organised.

But the economic basis of capitalist society is the class ownership of the means of wealth

production and distribution (and the resulting merchandise character of human labour-power). The class struggle results from it. Monopoly is not a weapon, but through the control of the political machinery the capitalists are able to use various weapons, for instance, capitalist education, religion, labour decoys, and armed forces. As the capitalist class control all these they are completely dominant; the workers' power, even when labour-power is in demand and well organised, is therefore secondary and dominated.

The latter part of the above quotation is, like many another passage, almost meaningless. How can both parties be driven by the economic struggle to obtain a monopoly which both already possess? The workers are the sole purveyors of labour-power, and the capitalists are complete owners of the means of life. The careful regulation of capital, i.e., the better organisation of the master class in the class struggle, renders labour-power plentiful and the position of working-class organisation less secure. The success of one class is the failure of the other. Yet, according to the Guild, both parties (classes) can obtain a monopoly by careful regulation. By careful regulation and incessant struggle they can both obtain what both already possess, but which the one possessing, excludes possession by the other.

Something of a key to this ambiguity is contained in the last sentence: "The extent to which labour has held its own is the extent to which it has been organised." But it does not alter the situation, because on every occasion when the relative strength of the two classes has been tested by means of strike or lock-out, the capitalists have easily maintained their dominant position, and the working class have suffered a heavy reduction in their standard of living, during a time, too, when labour-power was in demand. The ability of the Trade Unions to improve conditions has diminished rather than increased with their growing numbers.

The Guild writers utterly fail to understand capitalist society. It is no surprise, therefore, to find them determined to preserve capitalist institutions and superstitions while at the same time declaring that production must be carried on for use. Their main superstition is that any form of society must necessarily be divided into producers and consumers. It is quite true that in capitalist society the capitalist class consume without producing, though even there the working class consume—mostly rubbish, it is true. But a society in which all were producers and consumers alike could have no object in setting up organised division.

But the Guild would transform the capitalist State into a consumers' league—to which every producer would belong—with power to tax the producers (themselves) after they themselves

had fixed the prices at which the producers (themselves again) must sell their commodities to themselves.

It is only fair, however, to add that the Guild do not see it in that light, although asserting that "the producer and consumer represent not different people, but different points of view." Having postulated antagonism, even though it is based on a "point of view," to ensure a balance they find it necessary to allocate to each functions to be exercised in their defence.

Although wealth produced for use would no longer be "an immense accumulation of commodities," the Guild insist that society should regard it as such, presumably to preserve their two points of view. Producers and consumers, although the same in reality, must have some system of exchange. Illustrations are given to show the futility of trying to fix prices under capitalism, yet under the Guild system the State, representing the consumers, will overcome this difficulty, and the producers in each industry will simply arrange the details of production in order to meet the demand. A single tax will be levied on the productive guilds in accordance with their net income—and this tax is the community's final weapon against exploitation by the Guild.

The Guild system is thus seen to carry with it the possibilities of exploitation, a real conflict of interests arising out of the two points of view which result from the same individual facing two ways at once.

To sum up, the Guild Idea is Utopian to the point of absurdity. It preserves antagonism while it would abolish classes. According to its propagandists capitalist society is divided into capitalists and wage-slaves, and elsewhere, the public, with whom they express special sympathy because they are "mocked, cheated, and robbed by the exploiters of modern commerce and afraid of trade unions, afraid of the producing classes."

Because they fail miserably to understand capitalist society, even while mouthing its abolition they would preserve its most detestable institutions—exchange of commodities and all that it implies. Relying upon the threat of a General Strike (their only weapon, which they falsely call economic power) the only real power in capitalist society—control of the armed forces through the political machine—is regarded by them with contempt and left in the hands of the capitalist class, because, they say:

Under present economic conditions, an alternative to a capitalist ministry is unthinkable, and political propaganda to that effect mere foolish prattle.

Control of the political machine by the working class is, of course, unthinkable to those who have made up their minds that the working class will organise to the point of a General Strike and that the ruling class will relinquish power at the mere threat, or be hopelessly beaten in the actual contest. The pamphlets and monthly organ of the National Guilds League are, like most Industrial Unionist literature, unscientific, confusing, and foolishly sentimental. Their ignorance of capitalism is only surpassed by their ignorance of Socialism, their only conception of which is the "Servile State." Their outlook in "The Guildsman" is purely national, if not radical. They say:

If Mr. Lloyd George cleaves to his Imperialist friends, and relies upon methods of coercion, the working classes must organise to oppose him; and if he comes forward asking for their real co-operation, they must organise to help him.

The Guild System, therefore, is not based on the class struggle, nor does it place international solidarity of the workers before capitalist national interests. As an organisation, therefore, we have no hesitation in placing it in the same category as the so-called Socialist parties that act as decoys, whose special function is to confuse and mislead the workers as to the real meaning of Socialism. F. F.

"There were colliers in Durham earning £12 a week said the Rev. J. J. Wardle Stafford, of Newcastle-on-Tyne." ("Reynolds's," Feb. 25th, 1917). And there are parsons getting £15,000 and £10,000 a year for preaching "A new commandment give I unto you that ye love one another." But, of course, there are smaller fry even among the clergy who get a lesser amount.

REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS.

BEING THE SEQUEL TO "ORTHODOXY."

I. Unorthodox Ideas in General.

Having in the previous essay considered in some detail the conditions which are instrumental in the building up and maintaining of a system of orthodox thought, especially that of the age in which we live, let us consider the complementary circumstances which cause the undermining of such a system. In other words, let us turn in our survey from orthodoxy to its antagonist, unorthodoxy.

Just as "orthodoxy" is a general term covering a multitude of diverse ideas having in themselves little in common, though co-related by the fact of their popular acceptance, so the term "unorthodoxy" is applicable to all manner of beliefs and conceptions that are contrary to those that are generally held.

Doubtless a large proportion of these unorthodox views result, to some extent, from peculiarities in the personal temperaments of the individuals holding them, or possibly from their having had abnormal experiences, or maybe because of highly illogical reasoning. For it is perfectly obvious that the fact of being unorthodox is, in itself, no more a mark of truth in ideas than is being orthodox.

The orthodox view often is, indeed, the correct one, as is, for instance, the popular idea of the earth's relation to the sun. But there was a time, let it be remembered, when the belief in the sun's dominance and "our" planet's circulation around it was considered a heresy worthy of torture, death, and damnation.

But it is not our intention to dwell here upon the unorthodox opinions of isolated individuals, whose views are either peculiar to themselves or at the most remain backed by an insignificant number of adherents. We wish rather to centre our attention upon the growth and spread to numbers of the community of anti-orthodox thought in general. In particular upon such systems of ideas as, having or developing numerous adherents, form well-defined groups or "schools of thought."

Of the many classes of ideas comprising orthodoxy some are more lightly held than others. The extent to which this applies is conditioned by several factors, but one of the most important is the relative value to the dominant class of the various ideas as a means of keeping "social order," that is, maintaining their rule. The development of ideas under changing social conditions, regarding religion, is illuminating in this respect. In Antiquity, and through the Middle Ages in Europe when Feudal organisation was supreme, religion formed the primary means of reconciling the subjected classes to their condition, and consequently it was backed up by all the forces which the ruling class of the time could summon, and in fact it became a considerable political power in itself. Unbelief was not tolerated and "heresy-hunting" ran riot, giving rise to that monstrous organisation, the Inquisition. To this day the religious persecutions in Russia and other socially backward nations, and such occurrences as the governmental murder of the Free-thinker Ferrer in Spain so recently as 1909, remain as vestiges of activities that once prevailed all over Europe.

This political importance of religion, so often concealed, is well portrayed by that acute scientist and historian, J. W. Draper, in his "Intellectual Development of Europe," where he wrote of the possibility of growing unbelief (Vol. I., p. 139):

... though, by the exercise of force on the part of the interests that are disturbed, ... the crises might, for a time, be put off, it could not be otherwise than that Europe should be left in that deplorable state which must result when the intellect of a people has outgrown its formulas of faith. A fearful condition to contemplate, for such a dislocation must also affect political relations, and necessarily implies revolt against existing laws. Nations plunged in the abyss of irreligion must necessarily be nations in anarchy.

But, as industry evolved and capitalism arose, taking on more and more its present form, capitalist enterprise and competition utilised natural science as an aid to production and commerce, a move which brought on the modern

"machine age." Scientific research was relieved of the disabilities under which it had painfully worked, and thus was stimulated a scientific revival among the intellectuals. As the desire of the bourgeoisie for an industrially efficient working class ever increased the practice of reading became general, and scientific literature voluminous, cheap, and popular. Although, as we have before seen, most writers on science are very wary of damaging religious beliefs, yet they could not prevent those who read their books from drawing their own conclusions. Doubts as to the reality of the supernatural and miraculous spread with the study science which reveals no such phenomena—a development which was aided by the practical education in inexorability of cause and effect, and the controllability of natural forces, which was given by experience in the use of power-driven machinery.

Thus there exists an ever-growing unorthodoxy respecting religion, in all gradations ranging from a logical materialism to a vague philosophic theism, resulting, in the long run, from the very satisfaction of the needs of the ruling class itself. Religion is, therefore, gradually losing its influence as an instrument of class rule, and the bourgeoisie is unable to stop its wane. In many capitalist countries State support has already been withdrawn from religious organisations, and the tendency is for this to increase. Religious belief is still orthodox and is still generally considered essential to "respectability," but the expression of unbelief is far from being the perilous thing which it once was.

From amongst the intellectuals there has arisen a school with unorthodox views on religion but retaining bourgeois political and economic concepts. They believe and propagate the idea that supernatural religion is not only not helpful, but positively harmful and a fetter upon "our civilisation" (by which they really mean capitalism). They have formed "secularist" or so-called rationalist societies. Recognising, however, what has been the social function of religion, they hasten to declare the teaching of non-theological ethics to be equally or even more efficacious in maintaining social "order." By this time our readers will know what this means, and will draw their own conclusions as to the form of the ethics advocated.

But the bourgeoisie as a whole have not as yet taken altogether to the secularist idea, although it is growing on them. Many in their ranks who personally disbelieve in the current religious dogmas still hold them to be socially necessary. They therefore play the hypocrite, like the Pericles and Cæsars of antiquity, by outwardly adhering to what they in reality regard as untrue. This is but occasionally admitted: Joseph McCabe in his "Religion of Sir Oliver Lodge" says (p. 169): "Dr. St. George Mivart, in confessing to me, a few years before his death, that he regarded it as a sign of ignorance for any man to believe the doctrines of the Roman Church, to which he nominally belonged, excused his position on the ground that it was necessary to combat 'materialism.'" Amongst the working class the declining social force of religion suggests itself in a widespread religious indifference, which crystallises into a decided antagonism to religion in proportion as the workers definitely realise their true interests.

We will confine now our attention to unorthodoxy in ideas regarding social relations, in that phase of thought which embraces conceptions of economic and political conditions, of patriotism, law, and morality. Here we are confronted by those very ideas upon which society largely depends for its continued existence in a given form. To this form of unorthodoxy, therefore, the dominant class is implacably opposed.

While it is true that the ruling ideas in a society concerning matters of social significance are always of such a nature as will tend to keep stable the society and preserve it from internal and external disruption, and that they uphold the interests of the ruling class, it must not be imagined that they are deliberately manufactured with this end in view. They are largely the legacy of past social development, built upon and re-modelled as the interests which dictated them changed. The average member of a dominating class is firm in his belief that these ideas are true. His class environment, associa-

tions, and traditions are all favourable to this result. Here we come up against that curious phenomenon which has confounded so many philosophers, social and historical students—the manner in which ideas and actions which really are based upon and in line with material class interests are draped in fantastic ideal coverings and are given a moral justification which is actually taken to be their root cause instead of merely the superficial trimming.

The man of the ruling class sees that the condition of things obtaining is good for him and good for his class. He does not put this down to the impersonal cause of a condition of property relations growing from a historically developed method of living, giving wealth and position, with all that they command, to his own class, and withholding them from the subjected. His natural egotism, supplemented by the class tradition, suggests rather a personal cause to be found in the attributes of his class, such as "blue" blood, military prowess, and "divine right" in mediæval times, and thrift, initiative, and directive ability in the present capitalist era. This gives rise to a contempt for the "lower" class—a contempt expressed either openly or in the thin disguise of a paternal superiority. There arises a fear of the growing power of the "lower orders"—an event which it is believed could only result in a social anarchy and chaos which would destroy all culture and civilisation. The social forms under which these alleged exceptional qualities are given full play are regarded not only as the most progressive and highest types, to which all others are inferior, but often as the only forms really reflecting "human nature," which would therefore inevitably re-assert themselves even if temporarily destroyed. Thus the ruling class regards itself as the guardian of all that is socially good and progressive, and is opposed to all attempts to change the structure of society.

The orthodox sociological ideas, then, are believed by those who accept them to explain the necessity for the social arrangements in vogue, and to justify them. Fundamentally unorthodox socio-economic views, therefore, are generally only held among those who do not accept the current explanations of the necessity, nor the justifications offered, for the social structure existing—that is, by those who are opposed to the society obtaining, who believe it can be changed and are desirous of changing it. In other words, if a certain system of anti-orthodox sociologic concepts are to be anything more than merely the intellectual property of an isolated thinker or an insignificant sect; if they are to achieve outstanding prominence in the mental life of a community, they must be of such a nature as to draw support from some section of society who find their interests to lie, not in perpetuating the existing forms, but in the transformation of society. We find, looking back over the historic development of ideas, that whenever there arise and grow conceptions of society radically different from the traditionally prevailing ones, they represent the social aspirations of some oppressed class or classes, that they arise from, and are the more or less idealised reflections of, what these classes believe their real interests to be. The spread of such ideas is, therefore, a forerunner of every movement of revolt which consciously aims at altering the structure of society.

The continued stable existence of a condition of society having class antagonisms, and with these therefore the possibility of disruption, depends to a great extent upon the powerlessness of the subjected class or classes in the face of the rulers, due to their lack of sufficiently effective counter-organisation. This itself turns up two main factors: first, the non-recognition by the subjected classes of the source of their oppression, and of the antagonism of their interests to those of the ruling faction—in other words, upon the absence of class-consciousness. Secondly, upon the strength of the barriers—natural, technical, and social in the way of effective organisation. Among the chattel-slaves of Antiquity class-consciousness was widespread, but organisation sufficient to cope with the concentrated military force of their oppressors, proved impossible of accomplishment. But to-day the conditions are reversed. The complexity of social relations and the powerful

hold of capitalistic ideas are obstacles to a class-consciousness which, once the proletariat attain, the problem of their organisation vanishes.

The fact that human society has gone through a historical process, has taken on different forms in different periods, and that these changes usually flowed from internal and not external influences, is a proof that each and all of these several forms were grounded on an unstable basis. The distinction must be made, however, between the gradual, automatic and inevitable changes which transpire in the mode of living, of which the individuals and classes whose relations with one another are thereby altered, are mainly, at the time, unconscious, and the social changes which men have, in outline at least, planned out beforehand, consciously striven for, and accomplished when the opportunity arrived. The former changes result from the imperative, ever-present necessity of obtaining a livelihood, which gives rise to a gradual but accumulating progress in the productive capacity of labour through inventions and discoveries. While each step, every improvement, is made consciously with possibly a definite but immediate end in view, the ultimate changes wrought and their effects upon social relations are usually unlooked for, undesired, and therefore largely out of conscious control. The arrangements resulting from the domination of man by material things and processes are, therefore, outside the sphere wherein man is able to deliberately bring about changes to his liking. Man, in the exercise of this power on social relationships, is chiefly confined to those relations in the deliberate domination of man by man, that is, in the domain of government, in the manoeuvring of politics and the making of laws. Even here his will, seemingly free, is limited by the means at his disposal to accomplish his end, and is dictated by desires based upon the interests which arise out of his conditions of life. Such changes, made usually in the form of legal enactments backed up by the organised physical forces of society, imply that the majority of the community are in their favour, or do not effectively oppose them.

From the above we are better able to understand the development of the new social ideas which we are investigating. When the material living conditions have so altered that the social arrangements maintained by law to the advantage of the dominant class are no longer those best adapted to furthering the evolution of the means and methods of producing wealth, they become hindrances to progress. Where a change is obviously imperative, and can be made without a balance of injury to their interests, leaving them still dominant, the ruling class may themselves effect it. But the limits to the changes possible within such bounds are soon reached.

The existing conditions become not only unprogressive, breeding stagnation, but there looms up the possibility of social dissolution. Invariably these dire consequences are more or less vaguely foreseen by the keener intellects, the Juvenals and Voltaires of the time, and their shafts of criticism and satire are flung at every institution of the existing order.

But were this all, social suicide might well become a reality. For unless some class, willing and capable, is at hand to wage conflict to the death with the traditional rulers of society and reconstruct the social organism on the lines prescribed by the stage reached in economic production, dissolution is practically inevitable. Thus Roman civilisation, with all its vaunted grandeur, was perishing of its own rottenness, and was only saved in part through the social and physical freshness of its barbarian invaders.

Usually, however, such a class does exist—a class whose interests lie in promoting the necessary social revolution, who become conscious of this and capable of carrying it out. The vague, aimless discontent found among all oppressed classes, fairly harmless to the rulers in itself, becomes concentrated into definite principles of thought and action in opposition to the existing order, and to the orthodox code. The more penetrating minds among those who champion the new principles, work out theoretical systems often ramifying into every sphere of human endeavour and the universe at large, becoming the "intellectual lights" of the

movement. The class becomes revolutionary; it develops its own code of ethics, beliefs, and ideals, which increase in definiteness and aggressiveness in proportion as the social system becomes more and more antiquated, and as its own opposition to the ruling class correspondingly grows.

The actual outward form in which conceptions born of revolt against existing society appear, depends to a great extent upon the character of the forces opposing the movement, and they are necessarily bounded by the limitations imposed upon intellectual expansion by the material and social conditions of the time. Thus practically every revolt against the *status quo* which broke out in the mediæval epoch of Feudalism, whether of the oppressed serfs and peasants or of the discontented burghers of the towns, was tinged largely with religious principles, while at the same time expressing itself as antagonistic to the orthodoxy of the Roman Church. Social demands were expressed in terms of religious reform. The international Catholic Church was the most powerful bulwark of Feudal society, and was itself the greatest of exploiting thieves. Everywhere its power as a conservative agent was felt, and thus it became the point upon which the main attack of the revolting elements was focussed. But so deep was Christian superstition ingrained in the minds of the time, and so weak was the condition of science—the only effective antagonist to religion—that even the most revolutionary ideas were draped in a religious guise. Here unorthodox social ideals involve a religious unorthodoxy, but in a form different from that which we have previously examined. To-day every "world problem" has been wrenched by science from the domain of the theologian, and science is the weapon of the true revolutionists of our time; for superstition spells ignorance and ignorance reaction.

But whatever outward form the ideals and aspirations of the revolutionary class take, because of their progressive character they make their appeal to all who are interested in, and in favour of, social advancement, and on the other hand to those who have nothing to lose by a change in society, having had nothing but bitterness under the established form. Even individuals of the upper social layers, therefore, are infected by the new ideal. More important, however, is the fact that where lower social classes underlie the truly revolutionary class, the exaggerated transports of idealism for social welfare which is generated, together with their discontent, which is often artificially encouraged by the revolutionaries, serve to bring them along as eager—though ignorant and "led"—supporters of the movement, to provide the main dynamic force, if not the guiding factor of the impending revolution.

But in the past the working populace were not materially benefited by the social transformations which they helped to make, for the material conditions had not yet ripened to the point where they would allow of the social circumstances being established, emancipating the working class from oppression.

R. W. HOURLLEY.

(To be Continued.)

THE "BRAINS" OF THE COUNTRY.

The following extract is interesting if only to illustrate the "superior" education possessed by university men and graduates of all that is best in British scholastic circles—not to mention the French.

INTERPRETERS NEEDED.

The only one of the four British Ministers who speaks French fluently is Mr. Balfour. Mr. Asquith does not speak French, Sir Edward Grey has always required an interpreter when talking to the Foreign Ambassadors, and Mr. Lloyd George has been taking lessons in French recently. On the other hand, few, if any, of the French Ministers have a conversational knowledge of English.

"Daily Chronicle," 18.11.15.

Still, humiliating though it be to have to rely on working-class intellect when out of their depth, "our" Ministers may be comforted by La Roche Foulcaud's truism: "It is good for a man to live where he can meet his betters, intellectual and social."

he had been requisitioned under the substitution scheme.

In reply to Col. . . prisoner admitted that he knew nothing about horses as he had been a cabinet maker all his life.

Col. . . : This is exactly the type of man we are getting as substitutes on the land. It is perfectly ridiculous.

The Bench dismissed the charge.

—“Star,” Jan. 29th, 1917.

From a paragraph under the heading “Asterisks” in the paper referred to above I take the following: “Lord Northcliffe states that ‘the last bloodshed in warfare in our fields and villages was in Stuart days.’ Perhaps he thinks that the battle of Preston, in 1715, was fought in the streets of the town.”

One might add that bloodshed in [class] warfare has occurred in far more recent times. Has our contemporary heard of the shooting of unarmed workers at Liverpool, Llanelly, Featherstone, just to mention a few cases?

A news item states that “Since January 1st 31 men and boys have been killed by roof falls in South Wales mines.” (“Daily Chronicle,” Jan. 23rd, 1917.) Some occupation this for substitution. Glorious opportunity for colliery owners and mining royalty mongers to take a hand in getting coal under the National Service scheme. Who will be the first?

The circular issued recently by the Food Controller (Lord Devonport) contains one important admission with regard to working-class existence. In dealing with the question of bread and the variation in its consumption he says:

That is attributable to the fact that the lower the scale of income and of consequent living, the higher the bread consumption, for with many in such circumstances meat is only intermittently comprised in the scale of dietary, whereas bread constitutes the main staple.”—“Reynolds’s,” Feb. 4th, 1917.

Why the Food Controller should issue broadcast his suggested limit of rations one is at a loss to understand. On his own showing large numbers fail to get anywhere near his meat allowance, and with regard to sugar, blimey! if we could only obtain the stipulated quantity we should indeed be well off by comparison with our present circumstances. Talking of sugar reminds one that a little while ago special exhortations were made to economise in food-stuffs, yet in order to obtain a pound of sugar various sums have to be expended on other commodities. And we have a “Business Government.”

From a morning newspaper I learn that one incidental consequence of the state of war has been a considerable decrease in the number of civilian hospital patients. The article goes on to say:

This decrease is a real decrease, and indicates improved health among the people for whom hospitals exist, and the improvement of health is accounted for by the abundance of food which the military separation allowances have assured to many women and children for the first time. —“Daily Chronicle,” Feb. 12th, 1917.

Such is our glorious civilization, according to the above journal, that a great war is the medium through which “many women and children for the first time” have an “abundance of food.”

A National Service advertisement recently appeared in some of the papers with the heading “It’s your innings now!” The wording of the appeal is such as should go home to that type of individual who, in the early days of the war, was so anxious to do something for his country were he a little younger or more fit, and who used all sorts of special pleading in order to excuse his inaction. However, as the old song says, “There’ll come a time some day.” Now for the announcement:

Do you remember how you urged the young fellows to enlist—how you pointed out to them the path of honour and duty? . . . They were young—many of them had not tasted of life’s joys as you have. Many of them have been cut down before they knew what happiness was. You have had your life. What are you doing now to help the men you sent to the Front? You took a grave responsibility in asking them to fight for you—how

are you fulfilling it?—“Daily Sketch,” Feb. 21st, 1917.

A grave indictment this. For the response we must, as Asquith says, “Wait and see.”

“Socialism is the end of all things,” said a politician. And the Anti-Socialist union parrot-like repeated the phrase that Socialism meant the break-up of the home life. (Capitalism’s wars have rendered many a home husbandless and made thousands of children fatherless. The final touch is to be found in yet another advertisement which says:

30,000 women willing if necessary to leave their homes for a time are urgently needed now.—“Reynolds’s,” Feb. 4th, 1917.

The complete break-up of home life is now necessary in order to enable the international master class to attempt to settle their differences.

In perusing the daily Press I came across the following lines, under the heading “Resurgam.” O wondrous host, that o’er Death’s hills have hied, Immortal youths! is this thy pain-won dower, The first fruits of thy mighty, living power. Then surely, not in vain is it ye died. Lo, from thy resting-place may be descried The pregnant movements of the rhythmic sower Who makes the desert place to laugh and flower, And fills with grain the barren countryside. E’en the sad precincts of the cities see Thy shining sacrifice doth fructify; There green oases suddenly appear And smiling fruit and flowers salute the eye. From out thy blood, O ye, our deathless slain, England shall feed her people once again. —“Daily Chronicle,” Feb. 10th, 1917.

The utilitarian poet sees the “cannon fodder” functioning finally as manure, but his candour seems a bit callous.

The question of National Service brings forth quite a crop of interesting comments in the various papers. A fine instance of special pleading for exemption appeared only a short time ago. Commenting on this in a leading article the “Daily Telegraph” (Feb. 6th, 1917) said:

When they read that all between the ages of 18 and 60 are to be asked to volunteer for national civilian service, they naturally are a little troubled in mind, especially when they find that the call is really for those who can do a good hard day’s work in a shipyard, a coal mine, a foundry, or on the land. What is the duty of professional men, for example, especially those who are over the military age? With the best will in the world to do their country service, they know that it would be ridiculous for any but a very small percentage of their number to volunteer for occupations to which their daily habits for the last twenty years or more have wholly unsuited them. A middle-aged professional man who has never done a hard day’s manual work in his life, is simply making useless labour for the Director-General’s clerical staff, unless he clearly sees that he can fill some definite place for which the Director-General invites recruits.

Which, reduced to a few words, means that National Service is all right for the hewers of wood and drawers of water, those who have lived arduous lives of toil; but to the professional and idle parasitic classes, the idea of “a good hard day’s work” is unthinkable. It would indeed be a sight for the gods to see, say, the Bishop of so-and-so and Lady Fitznoodle filling shells or performing some other such function. What ho!

“Choose ye this day day whom ye will serve.” Our Pleasant Sunday Afternoon labour leader, Arthur Henderson, addressed a meeting in the Leeds Town Hall, when he delivered himself of the following:

He wanted also to make it unmistakably clear that if the result of voluntary National Service was not satisfactory, and if numbers were not forthcoming, they would have recourse to the only other alternative.—“Daily News,” Feb. 21th, 1917.

Here we have Arthur as a whole-hogger for conscription—military and industrial. And also he it noted that this honourable gentleman, who waxes wrath when Germany breaks her pledge, stated in the House during the week that if the needs of the nation made it desirable for him to break a pledge at any time he would take means to do so. The sanctity of pledges, and so forth, on both sides would appear to be observed when it suits either party concerned. When otherwise they become “scraps of paper.”

THE SCOUT.

SOCIAL DARWINISM.

A YALE PROFESSOR’S BACKING TO THE MARXIAN ARGUMENT.

“SOCIETAL EVOLUTION,” by A. G. Keller, Professor of the Science of Society in Yale University, U.S.A. 338 pp. Macmillan.

In the evolution of the attitude of the master class and their agents toward the Marxian or Socialist conception of society, we can, broadly speaking, distinguish two stages. At its first appearance the work of Marx and his adherents was either ignored or a blissful silence regarding it maintained, or it was ridiculed and misrepresented, even disgusting and lying attacks upon the personality of Marx being resorted to in the frenzied defence which was taken up of the theoretical props of capitalist society.

But as Marxism pursued its conquering march, gaining ever wider acceptance; as the development of capitalist production more and more showed the fallacious and untenable position of orthodox “sociology,” and especially as the bourgeoisie found the need for a real understanding of “their” social organism ever more pressing, the work of Marx received a grudging but increasing official recognition. The more thorough and conscientious of the professors of sociology admitted the value of Marx’s work, and declared themselves partially in agreement with his system, although not always with proper acknowledgement of their debt to him, and sometimes with none at all.

They did not become Socialists; they declared for some of the basic propositions of Socialist theory, but against the full conclusions which Socialists draw from them. They could not do otherwise, for to stand by the exploded and ridiculed maxims of the old “social science” would have been a confession of mental bankruptcy and intellectual prostitution.

The Materialist Conception of History, being the most far-reaching of the Marxian propositions, came in for most of this support; the less general Class Struggle theory obtained less support, and, of course, the detail theory of value and its co-related surplus-value view of the exploitation of the labourer met with least support of all, usually remaining an anathema.

It is especially significant that it is the United States, where, owing to high industrial development, the contradictions and problems of capitalist society reveal themselves most acutely, and the difficulties of the capitalist class are correspondingly greater, which has been the main home of this new departure in bourgeois sociology. The names of Professors Lester F. Ward, E. R. A. Seligman, Albion W. Small, and J. T. Shotwell stand out prominently in this connection, and in America has just appeared a translation issued by the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, of “Criminality and Economic Conditions,” by Prof. W. A. Bonger, Doctor in Law of Amsterdam University, who stands definitely by the Marxian interpretation of crime.

Professor A. G. Keller, of Yale, is one of the newest recruits to this movement, and the remainder of this article will be devoted to his recent instructive work, “Societal Evolution.” The book is of such value that a summary of his position will be given with copious quotations, picked, not in the order in which they appear, but as they best serve the continuity of the exposition.

Some of the following ideas are supplied by the present writer. Although not definitely stated in the book, they may be deduced from its main propositions.

By “Societal Evolution” Keller means the process of the development of human society, i.e., what is usually termed “social evolution.” “Societal” is a term which has found favour among certain American sociologists, but in the following we shall use in its stead the more familiar “social,” except when quoting.

Keller cuts himself adrift from the mystics—now happily becoming extinct—by reminding his readers of the important fact that in all circumstances man remains an animal and, like all other life forms, he is the product and the

subject of natural conditions and forces. What human beings are likely to forget is that they remain in the last analysis the playthings of the irresistible forces of nature. The ground shakes a little and thousands of human beings perish; a relatively small volume of poisonous gas spills over the rim of a crater upon a town, and the inhabitants are no more; the brute passions of men break forth and they rage like primitive savages. Underneath the artificialised life of man, so long as he remains in the last analysis an animal—which so far as can be seen will be all his days on earth—flow the ungovernable currents of nature in strength unimpaired. There can, therefore, be no question of chance or “free-will” in human development—organic or social—any more than there can be in any other sphere of nature. As Keller says, “viewing societal life without much perspective or insight, men think either that all is hopeless disorder, or that anything and everything can be directly altered to suit their ephemeral or local ‘choice.’ But there can be no disorder where there is law, nor yet can there be a capricious or whimsical choice undetermined by life conditions.”

All forms of life must be adapted to their surroundings or perish. But when we consider the human animal we find that his case is peculiar. Although the most widely spread of animals; although existing in environments of the greatest variety, man shows, the world over and through vast epochs of time, such a uniformity of bodily structure that practically all human types are classified as being merely varieties of a single species. He endures the maximum of diversity in environment but shows the minimum structural adaptation. On the other hand, we do find the utmost differences between his social organisations, customs, instruments, in short, his culture, displayed in different places, and throughout past time.

Man, through his higher developed brain and resultant powers of reasoning—by which he is distinguished from his nearest relatives, the anthropoids—is enabled, to a far greater extent than other animals, to understand the situations and problems which confront him. In the various artificial creations of his, such as tools, habitations, clothing, and organisations, we see his ideas—which he forms to overcome the problems of adaptation which he is faced with—take on a material shape. “The fact is,” says Keller, “that whatever structural modification there is has been made in the brain, and that the rapidity and success of brain adaptation has rendered bodily adaptation unnecessary, thus freeing man from the inevitable process as seen among plants and animals, and as in them productive of structural characters which are utilised successfully by botanists and zoologists in their classifications.”

The brain of man, then, is “a sort of specialised adapting organ which relieves the rest of the body from the necessity of structural adaptation.” We cannot see man’s ideas nor the changes in his brain, except in the comparison of the actual brains of low-developed and high-developed races, but we can observe and classify the results of his adaptation as revealed in what is summed up as his “culture.” “The complicated machine is the materialisation of the brain-action of its inventor; it is not mere wood and iron. Every weapon, every article of clothing, or other invention (standing as a substitute for structural modification) is in a very literal sense an idea materialised or made real; so are all systems and economies in society—in a word, all human institutions.”

Keller exposes a common illusion when he says: “We get the idea that man does not adapt to environment, but adapts the environment to himself and his needs. But we attain no power over nature until we learn natural laws, to conform and adapt ourselves to them. And then we come to be as dependent upon our adaptations as a bear upon his coat of fur or a woodpecker upon his sharp beak.”

The author proceeds to examine the process of social evolution in detail. His great effort is to show that “the Darwinian factors of variation selection, transmission, and adaptation are active in the life of society as in that of organisms.” He takes it for granted that his readers are already acquainted with the theory of Darwin and Wallace known as Natural Selection, but

here it will be as well if this is briefly outlined.

In his masterpiece, “The Origin of Species,” Darwin brings a mass of evidence to prove that despite the fact that all life forms reproduce the essential structural features of the parents from which they spring, this does not follow exactly as to details, and that variations both bodily and mental occur among all offspring, both from the parents and among themselves. Then he demonstrates that, in the perpetual struggle to live which necessarily takes place owing to the immense number of individuals born in comparison to the conditions available for their support, those which possess the most helpful variations survive the struggle, great numbers with less useful variations being killed off. The favourable variations are inherited in the offspring, from amongst which in their turn the favourably varied are sifted or selected out. Thus the accumulation of variations in different directions over vast periods of time, result in forms of life often very different from those from which they are descended.

In this way is explained, first, the great diversity of types of life, both in time and in space, and secondly, the close adaptation or conformity to surroundings of living creatures which has excited the admiration of nature students of all ages, and has long favoured the idea of a presiding genius of the universe.

In applying the theory of selection to society he starts with “variation.” The practices, customs, and appliances which in their totality form the framework of society he calls the “folkways” when they are incipient and the “moves” when they become established; but this distinction is indefinite and, as he himself admits, cannot always be consistently maintained. These, as we have seen are realised ideas. But men have a great many ideas. Hosts of inventions have been discarded; many experiments have been made, found useless and abandoned. “The collections in the Patent Office form a museum of variations in the purely mechanical field, the courts and newspapers offer numerous cases in the realm of marriage and the family, the records of administrative bodies of importance or significance provide examples of variation in the political moves, and the history of sects and creeds teem with instances of the same process in the matter of religious system and ritual.” Those practices which are found to serve their purpose spread, and are adopted, becoming habitual among those in the society who have the same need, that is to all or to a section according to the circumstances. Thus are formed the various codes or systems of moves which characterise social groups. “The case of societal variation reduces ultimately, then, to the mental reaction of individuals. These, unconsciously, and later to some extent consciously throw out a series of tentatives under the stimulus of need. Certain of these tentatives cancel out at once and otherwise disappear, while others are concurred in and become characteristic of a group. They are then the folkways of that group, and when they become the object of group approval and so become the embodiment of its prosperity—policy, they become its moves; . . . they are now social phenomena as distinguished from individual phenomena.”

R. W. HOBBS

(To be Continued.)

POINTS FOR PATRIOTS.

Breathes there a man with soul so dead—
Some modern slave at factory gate
Who never to himself hath said,
In cynic bitterness and hate:
“This is my own, my native land?”
Breathes there a man with soul so dead—
A numbered land in a factory hell—
Who never to himself hath said,
When hurried to toil by the factory bell—
“This is my own, my native land?”
Breathes there a man with soul so dead—
Mocked by flaunted wealth and power
Who never to himself hath said,
As he sold himself for sixpence an hour:
“This is my own, my native land?”

UNITY IN THE UNITED STATES.

Once again the Unity cry has been filling the organs of the S.P. of A. and the S.L.P. of A. The latter party through a decreasing membership and vote has given a more willing ear to unity than it once did. But the spectacle of that party negotiating on unity with the organisation they are ever bitterly denouncing is a most ridiculous one.

A vote was taken in the S.P. of A. as to whether they should appoint delegates to meet the Socialist Labour Party’s delegates in conference on terms of unity, and it resulted in favour by 20,000 to 5,000. The Conference sat in New York City on January 6 & 7, 1917. The delegates for the Socialist Party were Louis B. Boudin, Geo. H. Goebel, Chas. H. Maurer, James O’Neal and Samuel Beardsley. The Socialist Labour Party delegates: Arthur E. Reimer, Rudolph Katz, Boris Reinstein, Caleb Harrison and Arnold Peterson.

After coming to an agreement on the question of aim and reform policies the question of the attitude towards economic organisation came forward.

The Socialist Labour Party insisted on the following statement being adopted to bind the unified body to Industrial Unionism:

Recognition and declaration in favor of the fact that the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery cannot be achieved by political action only; and therefore the unqualified acceptance of the fact that it is absolutely indispensable for that purpose to have the working class organised in the economic arena on the lines of what is known in this country as pro-political or Socialist Industrial Unionism; and that consequently, it is the duty of the party of Socialism to teach the essential principles of Industrial Unionism in order to enable the membership to advocate these principles both inside of the existing craft unions—to the extent as it may still be possible—and outside of the same, and thus carry on that educational propaganda which will sooner or later crystallise in a world-wide army of industrially organised workers.

Declaration to the effect that the proposed united Party condemns the principle of craft unionism which defeats the very objects that the workers, consciously or otherwise, strive to attain.

Declaration to the effect that the Socialists, while reserving their right to criticise and expose all wrongfully constructed and conducted labor organisations, owe it as a duty to stand on the side of the workmen whenever a bona fide strike or other conflict for improved conditions of labor occurs, either as spontaneous action of the workers or as a result of action taken by any labor organisation whatever.

These resolutions, of course, are unsound. Industrial Unionism is not essential or even useful to working-class emancipation. To call it “Socialist” is misleading as it is not necessary to be a Socialist to join. Styling it pro-political is untrue, as the S.L.P. holds “that the economic arm is the more important, first, because it is indispensable to the revolutionary act and next because it is the frame of the government of the Co-operative Commonwealth.” (“Unity,” by De Leon, Page 23.) The resolutions advocate boring from within—in the craft unions, a line of action which the S.L.P. never tire of condemning on paper. The Socialist Party delegates refused to accept the whole thing. They offered in its place the complete resolution on economic organisation adopted by the Stuttgart International Congress in 1907. This resolution reads as follows:

To emancipate the proletariat completely from the bonds of intellectual, political and economic serfdom; the political and economic struggle are alike necessary. If the activity of the Socialist Party is exercised more particularly in the domain of the political struggle of the proletariat, that of the unions displays itself in the domain of the economic struggle of the workers. The unions and the Party have therefore an equally important task to perform in the struggle for political emancipation. Each of the two organisations has its distinct domain, defined by its nature and within whose borders it should enjoy independent control of its line of action, but there is an ever-widening domain in the proletarian struggle of the classes in which they can reap advantages only by concerted action and by co-operation between the Party and the trade unions. As a consequence the proletarian struggle would be carried on more successfully and with more important results if the relations between the unions and the Party are strengthened without infringing the necessary unity of the trade unions.

The Congress declares that it is to the interest of the working class in every country that close and permanent relations should be established between the unions and the Party.

It is the duty of the Party and of the trade unions to render moral support to the one to the other and to make use only of those means which may help forward the emancipation of the proletariat. When divergent opinions arise between the two organisations as to the effectiveness of certain tactics they should arrive by discussion at an agreement.

The unions will not fully perform their duty in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers unless a thoroughly Socialist spirit inspires their policy. It is the duty of the Party to help the unions in their work of raising the workers and of ameliorating their social conditions. In its parliamentary action, the Party must vigorously support the demands of the unions.

The Congress declares that the development of the capitalist system of production, the increased concentration of the means of production, the growing alliance of the employers, the increasing dependence of particular trades upon the totality of bourgeois society would reduce trade unions to impotency if, concerning themselves about nothing more than trade interests, they took their stand on corporate selfishness and admitted the theory of harmony of interests between labour and capital.

The Congress is of opinion that the unions will be able to more successfully carry on their struggle against exploitation and oppression, in proportion as their organisations are more unified, as their benefit system is improved, as the funds necessary for their struggle are better supplied, as their members gain a clearer conception of economic relations and are inspired by the Socialist ideal with greater enthusiasm and devotion.

The S.L.P. delegation wished a clause added to this Stuttgart resolution as follows:

In line with the above resolution and carrying out the spirit and applying the general principles expressed therein, the United Party declared that the proper application of it to American conditions calls for the Party's pointing out the fallacies and shortcomings of the craft union form of organisation and the necessity for adopting the Socialist industrial union form of economic organisation.

Around this resolution much discussion took place. The S.P. delegates claimed that the Stuttgart resolution did not mean industrial unionism. The S.L.P. delegates claimed that it was against craft unionism. "The thing to be done" said Boris Reinstein (S.L.P. delegate), "was to urge the workers to accept class unionism." In spite of this, however, he and other delegates of his party advocated industrial unionism—not class unionism.

"History shows," said Reinstein (S.L.P.), "that no ruled class ever overthrew a ruling class without first gaining economic power, a power which the working class could only develop through industrial unionism."

Such a statement shows how little the Socialist Labour Party understand history. Economic power depends for its full and complete exercise upon the possession of political sovereignty. And how little the working class could develop economic power by means of industrial unionism is another of "the secrets of the underworld."

A deadlock was reached on both the S.L.P. and Stuttgart resolutions, 4 votes being given in favour and 4 against.

When they discussed the form of the united organisation the federative plan offered by the S.L.P. and also organic unity of the S.P. of was rejected. When Boudin finally drew up a basis for common electoral action the S.L.P. delegates commenced "bargaining" by offering to accept it if the S.P. delegates would accept the S.L.P. resolution on economic action.

On the second day of the Conference the end came. The S.L.P. "bargaining" failed and the S.P. idea of swallowing up the S.L.P. also died. In the editorial of the "Weekly People" (Jan. 13, 1917) from which issue all the resolutions quoted have been taken, the S.L.P. claim that the rock upon which the Unity Conference went to pieces was industrial unionism. Thereby showing conclusively that the thing which keeps the two parties apart is nothing to do with Socialist policy or Socialist aims—Industrial Unionism being a side issue of no value to working-class emancipation.

The attitude taken by our Party years ago still holds good—that only by having a Socialist membership, and therefore a Socialist policy, can a real Socialist Party be secured. Neither the S.P. or S.L.P. of America fill the requirements.

A. KOHN.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

192, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—All communications to A. Jones, 3 Mathew St., Latchmere St., Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spicel-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST HAM.—

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Mons.

EDMONTON.—C. D. Waller, Sec., 1 Tower-gardens, Wood Green. Branch meets every Saturday, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM & CHELSEA.—All communications to W. Long, 13 Lambrook Terrace, Fulham, S.W. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m. at 205 Wandsworth Bridge-rd.

GRAVESEND.—Secy., c/o 1 Milton-rd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3.30 p.m. at Empire Cafe, 13 Ilford Lane.

SLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30.

KILBURN.—Communications to H. Keen, 95 Southam-st., N. Kensington, from whom can be ascertained meeting place of Branch.

MANCHESTER.—Mrs. McCarthy, Sec., 160 Russell-st. Moss Side, Manchester.

MARYLEBONE. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sats. at 8, at 81 Lisson-grove, W. Communications to Sec. at 193 Gray's Inn-rd., W.

N. KENSINGTON. T. Hewson, Sec., 119 Tavistock Crescent. Branch meets Mon. at 8, at above address in basement.

TOTTINGHAM.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs. 8.30 p.m. at 185 Portnall Road, Maida Hill.

PECKHAM.—Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sundays at 10.30 a.m. at Eltingtons, 34 Peckham Rye. Discussion after.

SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 28 Christchurch-rd., Southeast-on-Sea. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Sundays 10.30 a.m. at "Liberty," 6 Hermitage-rd., Westcliff-on-Sea.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—All communications to Secretary, at 104, Farleigh-rd., where Branch meets every Monday, 8.15.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis-rd Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Secy., 107 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 469, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 10 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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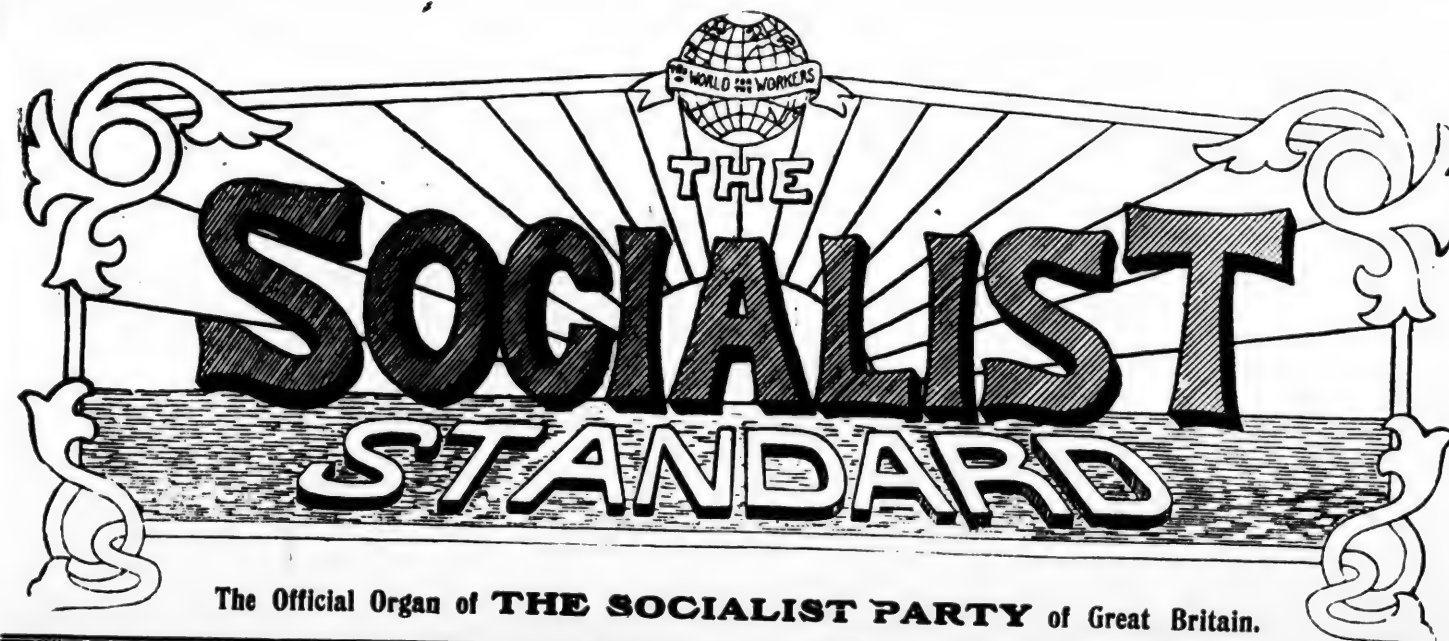
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LONDON, APRIL, 1917.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

We are indebted to the Editors of "The Ploughshare" for permission to reprint the following sketches, which appeared in the March issue of the Quaker Magazine of Social Reconstruction.—ED. COM. SOCIALIST STANDARD.

"THE GLORIES OF WAR."

BY A SOLDIER IN THE TRENCHES.

We guarantee the genuineness of the two sketches which follow. They are written by a soldier known to us, one who expresses himself as grateful for the work we are doing. Shame on us to accept thanks for this when so much more could be done!

I. GOING INTO ACTION.

The glories of war! How this great illusion has been kept up in former days! What volumes of romance have been written about it! But now war is stripped of all its glory and romance; it stands bare and hideous in the sight of thinking men, and to the soldiers it is an indescribable horror, breaking the mind and body and eating into the soul.

"Going into action" has always been a favourite theme with romantic writers; it lends itself to vivid word-painting about courage, determination, and sacrifice. Yet going into action to-day spells terror and despair to the men engaged. They know that in the awfulness of modern warfare few survive. Let me, therefore, give a brief description of an engagement as it occurs at the Front to-day.

The regiment has been at rest in billets a few miles behind the firing lines. Here we clean up, recoup, and receive fresh drafts to replace former casualties. A fairly easy time is passed until one morning the Colonel announces on parade that we are going up to the trenches again that night. Now all is activity and excitement; rifles are inspected and ammunition served out. New gas helmets replace the old ones, and "tear-shell" goggles are distributed; some of the men receive trench clubs—"daggers"; the bombers have the latest instructions read to them. We fill our water-bottles and get the iron rations of bully beef and "dog-biscuits."

As the day wears on, some of the men become reserved and quiet. The more thoughtful begin to ponder on what is in store for them. Some already feel they are beneath the ground. Poor wretches! perhaps the gods are kind in not giving us a glimpse of the future! But all contemplation soon ceases, for presently the bugles sound the "fall in." We hastily put on our full equipment, line up in the ranks, and await the Colonel's instructions.

Along he comes, attended by the adjutant and officers. He looks pale and anxious. "Men," he says, "we are going up to the trenches now. I hope you will all give a good account of yourselves, and may God have us in his care." The band plays "Eternal Father, strong to save," and as we sing it some cry like children. Tears are in the eyes of all. We think of our dear ones at home, and many a silent prayer is offered up. Some ask themselves

in thought: "Is there really a good God to allow this awful suffering and carnage?" The chaplain reads a prayer which seems like the burial service. Then the bugles sound again, hoarse orders are shouted, and away we march as night is quickly falling.

On, on we tramp, staggering beneath the heavy load of equipment, slipping in mud and slush, stumbling in holes. "How much further is it, chum?" I ask the man next to me. He cannot reply, he is crying bitterly. Now we approach the danger zone. The artillery is blazing away and the noise makes talking impossible. We break step, put out our fags, and begin to march in "extended order." Suddenly there is a roar and a crash—a shell has fallen just behind us! Happily no one is hurt. Then I see a man in front of me fall, caught by a spent bullet. He shrieks in agony, and the stretcher-bearers come to his rescue.

Now we march along in silence, absolute silence, dumb men driven to the slaughter. We are nearing the communication trench. The sky is lit up with the flashes of thousands of guns, and the star shells shed a lurid glow over the field of battle. Shells are bursting near us, for the enemy is shelling the roads. Several men fall, hit by shrapnel. We quicken our pace to get the cover of the trenches. The wounded are being brought from a field dressing station and quickly put in Red Cross vans. As the stretchers pass us, the poor wretches groan in agony.

We are now in the assembly trench; it is knee-deep in mud; we slip and stumble about, advancing in single file towards the front. My company is to be stationed in a rear trench, but the others advance to the front. We are allotted our positions by the Captain, and we stand there all night asking: "Will the dawn ever come?"

All next day we stand there; some have gone into dug-outs to try to get a few hours sleep, but this is almost impossible, for the earth shakes from the vibrations of the artillery. The lice crawl all over the body, driving one nearly frantic, and the rats are in swarms and run over us. But there are some corpses lying out on the top, with plenty of rats around them, so they won't go hungry!

The next day we are told an attack is to be made at dawn. On this I notice a weird change comes over the men; they become strangely religious as the fear of death comes near. The Catholics are telling their beads, the others reading their Testaments and Bibles. Some are crying, and all are silent—petrified with cold and horror.

As the hour for attack draws near, the officers become pale and anxious. They keep looking at their watches. They try to smile as they

shake hands with the sergeants, whispering "Good-bye," in case the worst happens.

The noise of the artillery is now awful; every gun, from a trench mortar to a big naval gun, is blazing away, smashing down barbed wire entanglements and parapets. The world seems to have gone raving mad. In an hour it will be dawn, and then—?

The men in the front trench have now fixed their bayonets, and thrown off unnecessary equipment. They dare not look at each other; steel helmets are firmly fixed as they await the word. Suddenly a young officer pushes his way to a place prepared in the parapet for jumping over. In his hand he holds a whistle. He gives a shrill blast, and is over the top, the others scrambling after him, and at this moment the artillery ceases.

Through the periscopes we watch the progress. Some are falling and throw up their arms and spin round as the bullets strike them. Some are dashing madly on. The machine-guns of the enemy are spitting forth thousands of fiery bullets. The men still unhurt have passed through the German entanglements and are on their parapets. The bombs and bayonets are busy. Strong men are falling like corn before the sickle. Now the fighting is in the enemy's trenches. Both explosions and revolver shots are heard. Our men have captured the trench and are consolidating it. In "No-man's-land" the stretcher-bearers are busy, dragging in the dead and wounded. The doctors in the trench dressing-station are hastily bandaging wounds and injecting "anti-lockjaw" serum. The sight is indescribable. Groans and cries rend the air as the dead and wounded lie together in the dressing-station. An ashy pallor is on their faces.

And now the enemy observers see that we occupy the trench and immediately signal to their artillery. Hundreds of shells now pour upon our comrades, smashing up the position they have occupied and burying them beneath the debris. And thus the hideous game goes on and many brave lives are sacrificed. The hidden artillery has robbed them of victory; for in this trench warfare neither side conquers.

In the rear trench we shiver through the long days and night; some of us have lost our brothers and comrades; we curse the war and the folly of the men who make it. "Why were we born?" I have heard men say.

Some get "trench feet"; others contract "trench fever" and scabies; some begin to develop pneumonia and consumption. We lean against the side of the trench, our teeth chatter, and try to sleep, when suddenly a gong rings, for a gas attack has been launched. We hastily don our gas helmets and "stand to." The enemy trench mortars are throwing devilish

bombs. We reply, dealing death and destruction to the unseen foe.

At last we are going to be relieved, and another regiment is to take our place. We begin slowly to thread our way through the communication trench. A sergeant reads the roll: to many names there is no reply. The remnants reach the road behind the trenches. It is pitch dark and the rain is falling in torrents. Most of us are limping, and some have taken off their boots. We are caked in mud from head to foot. There is no music now, no "glory of war," no cheering crowds. We are but the human fuel that feeds the engine of Armageddon. On, on we stagger back to camp. Some relieve their emotions by weeping. The man next to me is kissing the image of Christ on his rosary, the officers are silent; too weak and worn even to give orders.

There are no cheers now when we pass other regiments going up to the trenches, as there were in the early days of the war. We look at each other and say, "Poor devils! God help them."

As day advances we reach the camp. Worn out and aching with rheumatism, we stagger to the tents and fall asleep. And in that sleep there are some who dream of a wiser age to come, when man will have learnt the truth about the "glory of war."

We who are the victims of this carnage know that this "glory" does not exist. Would to God that the warring nations could know the same!—say I. Yes, the poor soldier is the victim all the time. There is no animosity between the fighting men. Wounded British, Germans, and French fraternise with each other, exchange cigarettes, and sympathise with the others' wounds and pains. I have seen German prisoners walking arm-in-arm with our soldiers. "Going into action!" Yes, let us go into action, but not to slay and torture, but to build up a happier and brighter world redeemed from the folly and brutality of war.

II. THE CASUALTY STATION.

We sat in our dug-out reading a fragment of an old newspaper; it contained a vivid description of a casualty station written by a well-known newspaper owner. In glowing phrases it told of the cheerfulness of the wounded and the laughter and happiness which prevailed in the "wards." In short, from the description, one would really believe that men loved being torn and maimed, and that they were in a place of amusement instead of a human shambles—house which baffles description.

My chum tossed the paper to me and said: "Ye gods! that people should believe that! To think that those at home are so gullible! If they could only see a dressing or ambulance station for half an hour, such a demand for peace would be made that no Government could stop it."

My chum was right. I will now try to describe a casualty station, but no words of mine can suffice; only a Zola or a Dickens could give even a faint description of the horrors which one sees—horrors that eat into the soul and make one wonder whether it is a hideous scene from Inferno or a reality.

Imagine a large field with about twenty marquees erected for the reception of the wounded. The bitter wind blows through the canvas, and a solemn air of death and suffering pervades the whole. (When I was there, nurses and doctors were nearly knee-deep in mud.) The never-ending stream of Red Cross motors is coming and going. The R.A.M.C. men swiftly and gently lift the stretchers from the cars and take them to the reception marquee. Many of the wounded are groaning, and some are already dead. They are smothered with mud, while fear and pain are written on their pale faces. A doctor makes a hurried examination, then each case is taken to the "ward" allotted to that class of injury. Here the wounded are stripped, their clothes thrown aside or sent to the destructor. Now the ward-doctor makes a minute examination.

The surgeons are busy in the operating tent; as case after case comes and goes, shattered legs and arms are quickly amputated. The bucket outside contains hands and feet, pieces of jaw, and the rest. I see an orderly hurrying along carrying a big white leg to the destructor, thinking nothing of this, for it is an hourly occurrence.

Have you ever seen a butcher after a day's killing? Well, that is how the surgeons appear. They work day and night, clever, self-sacrificing men, appalled at the awfulness of their duties. The nurses appear somewhat hysterical, the result of doing hours of arduous duty and bloody work. Their aprons are saturated with gore. In the wards are the mangled and the dying. Many cases are too awful for operation, and nothing can be done to relieve them, so the orderly injects morphia and the poor wretches pass quietly away.

A priest is in attendance; sometimes his words console the one passing hence; but I, who have seen many men die, say unhesitatingly that instead of dying gladly (as the corrupt Press declares), they do so with appalling regret, feeling inwardly that cruel war is wrong, and that they ought not to die so young.

But the ambulance train has arrived to take the sufferers to England. The most dangerous cases are placed on the train first. What a sigh of relief is given as they know that they are going to "Blighty"—away from the infernal scenes of carnage and slaughter! Now the train is nearly full of "lying cases," and the sitting cases come next. An orderly is leading some men—they are blind; and here are some men apparently unharmed—what is the matter with them? They are deaf and dumb from shell-shock. Next come the insane—they are strongly guarded and locked up in a special compartment. Some are shouting and raving—it is nothing, only war!

A blast from the whistle and the train is off. Doctors and nurses give a sigh of relief, but it is of short duration, for "gas cases" are arriving in the hospital. The poor wretches are propped up in the open air; they are struggling and gasping for breath. Some are already turning blue as the mucous fluid slowly rises in the lungs and chokes them. Some are dead and fall over with faces distorted and hands clenched in their awful struggle.

In a field at the back the dead are lying; they are clad in their shirts with a blanket thrown over them. Let us pull aside the blanket and look! The first has no face—a big blob of wadding hides the mangled features. The next is white as marble—he has bled to death. The next has been shot through the brain; it took him three days to die, poor chap, and he was conscious to the end. How tenacious some are of life!

The "sanitary men" are busy tying up the corpses, whose shroud is a blanket and a bit of string. A few handfuls of chloride of lime are thrown over the naked bodies, and sometimes in the mouths. The sanitary men work in silence, they are so horrified and appalled: see! that young man's hair is going white, and there is a strange look in his eyes.

The corpses are pulled about as the slaughter-man pulls his dead sheep. There are post-mortem examinations on some of them, and for this purpose intestines and pieces of lung are in a bucket outside a tent, so that the young surgeons may get good practice.

The dead are now ready for burying. Four old French peasants are digging graves. There is not time to dig them very deep, and they fill with water at once. Quickly the corpses are dropped in the water as the parson reads a few words from the Burial Service and the wet earth is thrown in.

As we go back to the hospital the night is made hideous with the groans and shrieks of men in agony. Sleep is often impossible, and sometimes I have been awake all night hearing the awful cries of these poor men. Many are passing away, and as dawn begins to break a silence reigns from which we know that these mud-stained, weary warriors have passed into the Great Beyond.

And so it goes on, day after day, week after week, the never-ending stream of maimed and mangled bodies. Strong, happy, smiling men are knocked into bundles of bloody rags!

Yes, the Press and politicians may talk of the "glory of war," but the casualty stations tell the true tale. And when that wealthy newspaper owner writes about the wounded, let him tell the real truth, and not deceive the public with cruel lies, which help to lengthen the war and thus bring death and indescribable suffering to thousands.

This is what we in the trenches think!

RETROSPECTIVE.

When British capitalists in their land-grabbing career appropriated India they also very benevolently incorporated into "our" great and glorious Empire the island of Ceylon, which lies off the coast of that country. We shall now proceed to discuss the tremendous advantages accruing to the native population through the contaminating influence of their oppressors (the single-souled and passionate supporters of the rights of small nationalities).

In "The Humanitarian" for Jan. 1917 an article appears on the Ceylon labour system, and I recommend its perusal to the "props of England's pride" and the believers in the sincerity of the late utterances of our British masters and their satellites.

The article quotes from a speech by Sir P. Arunachalam (a respectable enough name, surely!) president of the Ceylon Service Leagues, whose speech was reported in the "Indian Emigrant" of July last. I make the following extracts for the Socialist munition chest:

It will be a surprise to them (friends in England) that in this, the premier crown colony of the Empire, after over a hundred years of British rule, there is a labour system which in some of its aspects is little better than an organised slavery, though it lurks under the name of "free labour," and that breaches of civil contracts are punishable and are daily punished with imprisonment with hard labour. They will be still more surprised and shocked to learn that under this system even women and children are sent to jail with hard labour. I hold in my hand an advertisement which appeared in a daily paper a few days ago, which recalls the slavery days in the Southern States of America. It offers a reward of Rs. 50 and expenses paid to any person who arrests half a dozen bolted coolies from an estate in Matele. Among them is a woman who is described as "sickly, with a baby in arms, and a boy 8 years, and a girl 3 years." . . . On the 18th May last, and again on the 9th June, the Social Service League of Ceylon addressed the Government on behalf of coolie women and children imprisoned for labour offences, and begged for remission of the unexpired portion of the sentences on these women, two of whom were sentenced to a month's rigorous imprisonment each, by the Police Magistrate of Badulla, on a charge of insolence, and the third by the Police Magistrate of Kandy to a like sentence for quitting service without notice, she being ordered to go back to the estate on the expiration of her sentence.

It was pointed out to the Government that these unfortunate women were compelled to herd with prostitutes and other bad characters in jails. . . . The appeal of the League was in vain.

In view of the above conditions who will wonder that disorders arose there between 29th May and 15th June 1915, in which "over a hundred persons were killed by rioters or by soldiers"? The "Manchester Guardian" of Oct. 26th last gives a resume of the causes that led up to the riotings, and the barbarous way in which the authorities dealt with the situation, from which the following information is taken:

The Hambaya Mohammedans in Ceylon, against whom the chief fury of the riots was directed, are emigrants from South India. They do not settle on the island, but, after a term of successful trade, return to India with their savings. They are viewed by the Cingalese with the distrust that is so often provoked in an agricultural people by a clever commercial race who, they think, are exploiting them, and the rise in the price of food stuffs due to the war has, quite unreasonably, increased this distrust.

The Kandyan (the native population) are Buddhists, and the British treaty of 1815 (another scrap of paper!) promised to "protect and maintain the rites, ministers and places of worship" of the Buddhists. In spite of this the "immemorial processional rites" of the Kandyans were continually interfered with to the advantage of the Mohammedans. On the 28th May 1915 a procession on the occasion of the birthday of Buddha was interfered with, and those taking part in it were jeered at by the Mohammedans; the riots then commenced.

The events which followed are an almost incredible record of panic, mismanagement, and injustice. Under martial law, which lasted three months, though the riots were quelled in a fortnight, several people whose innocence was afterwards established, were thrown into prison, flogged, or even shot without trial; persons charged on suspicion were forced to purchase immunity from trial for cash down; the country was scourged by "special com-

Continued on page 62.

THE SECRET OF PROSPERITY.

While comedians accurately reflect the prevailing ethics when they sing "Get money—honestly, if you can, but get it," Mr. James Allen, in his book "The Eight Pillars of Prosperity," refuses to dissociate worldly prosperity from the practice of moral virtues. In his preface he says:

The moral virtues are the foundation and support of prosperity as they are the soul of greatness. They endure for ever, and all the works of man that endure are built upon them. Without them there is neither strength, stability, nor substantial reality, but only ephemeral dreams. To find moral principles is to have found prosperity, greatness, truth, and is therefore to be strong, valiant, joyful and free.

The "foundation and support of prosperity" are not the moral virtues, but man's knowledge of nature and his capacity to discover and utilise its secrets for the satisfaction of his needs. Morals do not endure for ever. They change with every important social change. They differ according to the stage of development; the morals of cannibals, Esquimaux, Chinese, and Europeans differ. The morals of Feudal England, with the general contempt for usury, for instance, have changed so much that the greatest usurers are among the finest prosperous and respected members of society.

Morals have no connection with the attainment of prosperity; on the other hand, the prosperous are enabled, by means of their control of wealth and power, to dictate within certain limits, the morals of the community. We find upon examination, too, that the morals strongly insisted upon and legally endorsed, are those affecting the ownership of property; thus class morals become class laws, imposed by the ruling class upon the subject class.

Mr. Allen, like many a capitalist, would like to believe that prosperity is an outward sign of all the virtues. This belief is grounded in the idea that the affluent are above the necessity of being mean and petty. It ignores the possibility of affluence itself being the result of wholesale robbery.

Mr. Allen's eight pillars of prosperity are: energy, economy, integrity, system, sympathy, sincerity, impartiality, and self-reliance. These principles have much to do with the prosperity of the ruling class, but not necessarily by their practice of them. Mr. Allen has not taken into account the possibility of one class practising all his virtues and another class prospering as a result.

Let us consider how far the average capitalist practices the eight principles. We leave the petty capitalist out of the question for the moment, because he is insignificant both in the amount of wealth he controls and in influence. The capitalist proper has his money invested in one or more concerns and knows little or nothing about any of them beyond the dividends they pay. If he does expend "energy"—over and above the normal activities of the ordinary pleasure-seeker—it is by the doctor's orders, and is mild and pleasant. He never practices "economy" except in the feeding of his servants. His "integrity" should be unquestioned seeing that he is well provided for; but the sequel will show that he dare not face the truth as to the source of his wealth. He leaves "system" to the managers of the different concerns in which his capital is invested. "Sympathy" is of little value to anyone of itself, but the capitalist may possibly feel some pity for the wretched toilers who are responsible for his dividends, until they strike for improved conditions—a situation which calls into play the next two principles, "sincerity" and "impartiality."

He can be desperately sincere when calling on the Government to administer clubs and bullets, and quite impartial as to the actual recipients. But the last quality, "self-reliance," is plainly absent in this instance; indeed, self-reliance is unnecessary at any time to the capitalist, who can place his capital in the hands of a broker or a solicitor and pay commission according to the success of his investments. Failing these, any bank will pay interest and take all responsibility of investment off his hands, while ensuring him a regular income.

So much for the capitalist's dependence on the "eight pillars." But what of the workers? "Energy" they must have, must sell, and must expend. "Economy" they are compelled to practice: with a weekly wage that represents the bare cost of living (especially to-day) there is no alternative. The "integrity" of the average worker is proverbial: he seldom has the chance to be dishonest—the overseers and police take care of that. The workers of both hand and brain are responsible for the systematic organisation of every concern: unless they have "system" they are not wanted. "Sympathy" they must needs develop because they are in constant touch with the suffering victims of capitalism. "Sincerity" is theirs, too: their conditions are too tragic to cultivate dissimulation. "Impartiality" belongs to the worker because he cannot do otherwise than serve any capitalist with impartial thoroughness: managers and foremen are chosen for their capacity to pump the energy from him. "Self-reliance" is also well developed in the workers; whatever their task they must perform it themselves; there are no chivalrous and benevolent capitalists on hand to relieve them when it is particularly strenuous or dangerous.

After a close examination, therefore, we find that these eight principles or pillars are compulsory attributes of the workers, constantly practised by them, but quite unnecessary to and seldom possessed by capitalists. Yet Mr. Allen claims that only on these pillars can prosperity be built, and that no individual or nation can be prosperous without them. This, his main thesis, is therefore in actual opposition to the facts. The working class, who continually practise his principles, remain poor, while the capitalist class, whose very existence as a separate class depends on exploitation, become more prosperous daily. Says our author:

Prosperity, to be stable and enduring, must rest on a solid foundation of moral principles and be supported by the adamant pillars of sterling character and moral worth. In the attempt to run a business in defiance of moral principles, disaster of one kind or another is inevitable. The permanently prosperous men in any community are not the tricksters and deceivers, but its reliable and upright men.

The old saying, that there is honour even among thieves, is here called to mind. All wealth is produced by the working class but owned by the capitalist class. As they do not obtain it by their own labour, nor by gift or begging, they must get possession by fraud. They may plead that they live and act within the system as it exists—the only system they know. But the system itself being based on the robbery of the working class, the class who live by such robbery can lay no claim to moral principles other than those formulated by themselves as expedients to facilitate the partition of the wealth robbed from the actual producers. Such expedients are far from being the "ultimate moral truths" by which Mr. Allen sets such store. The payment of a living wage for labour-power is not in reality an exchange of equivalents, but only the feeding, clothing, etc., of slaves while they produce, not only the value of their own keep, but all the surplus value appropriated by the master class. Labour-power, it is true, is paid for at its cost of production, as other commodities are, but in the consumption of labour-power which results in the transformation of the nature-given material into commodities, a new value is added which is not paid for. In different industries and countries this surplus-value may vary, but in its totality it corresponds approximately to the income of the non-producing class. Consequently Mr. Allen unconsciously impeaches the whole capitalist class when he says:

There is no striking a cheap bargain with prosperity. It must be purchased, not only with intelligent labour, but with moral force. As the bubble cannot endure, so the fraud cannot prosper. . . . But fraud is not confined to the unscrupulous swindler. All who are getting, or trying to get, money without giving an equivalent are practising fraud, whether they know it or not. Men who are trying to get money without working for it, are frauds, and mentally they are closely allied to the thief and swindler under whose influence they come sooner or later and who deprives them of their capital.

Just as there are possibly more crimes undiscovered than discovered, so there are more capitalists who retain and enjoy the fruits of

working-class exploitation than there are who lose them; only a very small proportion fall a prey to the swindler—a robber of the robbers—and even those are not necessarily the once who have violated the capitalist code of honour.

All those who obtain wealth without working for it or giving an equivalent for it are, according to Mr. Allen, frauds. This has been demonstrated by the Socialist, in scientific chapter and verse for over half a century. He has proved the capitalist system of society to be a system of slavery imposed upon the working class, who are robbed of the wealth they alone produce. Therein lies the secret to the boasted integrity of the prosperous. They dare not face the indictment, dare not enter into scientific discussion as to the source of their prosperity. They shirk the issue, and Mr. Allen seems quite unconscious of the fact that there is one. He evidently thinks, with them, that exploitation is a blessing conferred on the workers.

In his preface Mr. Allen says:

It is popularly supposed that a greater prosperity for individuals or nations can only come through a political and social reconstruction. This cannot be true apart from the practice of the moral virtues in the individuals that comprise a nation.

Here, as in his main thesis, our author is in contradiction with actual facts. History and anthropology distinctly show that the economic conditions prevailing in a given period determine the morals or laws of that period. Social and political relations are built up on economic means and methods. As the instruments and methods of production change, a change in the political and social relations becomes necessary; but while the economic change goes on gradually as an evolutionary process, social and political change can only come by the subversion of the ruling class in society and the establishment of relations more in accordance with the interests of the hitherto servile class. Such a change is a revolution, of which history furnishes many examples that go to prove that society develops by the alternating method described. With the inception of each new order the status of the individual is changed. Chattel slave, feudal serf, and wage slave represent three different forms under which the wealth producers have been exploited. As each order develops toward the point of revolution, conditions become more chaotic and wretched for the workers; the struggle for existence becomes so severe that the morals easily practised at its inception have to be rigorously enforced by law. Social relations—the moral principles that govern the relations between man and man—have not kept pace with economic development and fail to harmonise with it. Social relations must consequently be brought into line. Before man can be, in Mr. Allen's words, "strong, valiant, joyful, and free," he must have access to the means of wealth production without the degradation and disabilities that characterise wage slavery. He must control production and distribution collectively and democratically. Only then will his relations with his fellow man be in harmony with economic conditions, and all his actions, even when based on self-interest, harmonise with the interests of the community.

On page 101 Mr. Allen says that mayors, J.P.'s, and the like are chosen for their integrity and moral worth. The fact that they are, for the most part, prosperous in business proves, to his mind, the truth of his assumption that prosperity can only be attained by the practice of virtue. If that is all the proof he needs, then he occupies the proud position of the man who built up his business on the eight pillars of prosperity:

His spirit inhales joy as his lungs inhale air. There are no longer any fears of his fellow men, of competition, hard times, enemies, and the like. These grovelling illusions have disappeared, and there has opened up before his awakened vision a realm of greatness and grandeur.

In other words he has climbed out of the ranks of the proletariat, his needs are assured, his life is serene and placid, away from the sordid struggle for existence that continues and intensifies daily; his forgetting makes no difference. The poverty and anarchy that characterise capitalist society have become a "grovelling illusion" to him because, ostrich-like, he buries his head in the sand to hide from his sight the pursuing truth.

F. F.

"The undeveloped race has had little difficulty in appreciating and taking over the maintenance mores, the arts and crafts; here there is verification, things are seen to 'work' and then the transmission of these has made inevitable the transfer of the rest." "In general the transmission of the mores which took its course from Chaldea and Egypt through the Phœnicians, Greeks, Genœsæ, Venetians and others forms a grand illustration of the point at issue. None of these peoples had any mission to uplift Western Europe, they were after gain through trade. They operated exclusively in the economic field, introducing first the products, then the processes of the superior arts of the East. . . . With the result of modifying at length the whole societal structure of the West; by gradually transmitting to it, as it developed, a superstructure capable of supporting them, the mores of an advanced civilisation." "Commercial activities . . . aim distinctly at the creation and supply of material wants; this they do by suggestion through some form of advertising. They have enlisted imitation where missions, for example, have attempted inculcation; they have worked 'with the grain,' so to speak, where agencies of inculcation have gone against it. They have impinged immediately upon the maintenance mores, where other agencies have attempted to begin with the secondary societal forms." Compare with the words of the "Communist Manifesto": "The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it (the capitalist class) batters down

all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarian's intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate." Keller devotes the whole of his chapters VIII. and IX. to illustrating the principle of social adaptation to the conditions of living among the Eskimos and frontier settlers respectively. R. W. H.

(To be Continued.)

IRISH NOTES.

At the annual meeting of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce, held on the 1st March, 1917, the retiring president, Mr. J. H. Stirling, J.P., delivered a speech in which may be discerned the whine of the British capitalist at the late (and probably future) competition of Germany and Austria.

He set out with the statement that (referring to German industrial competition):

"It needed apparently this Armageddon to drive home to those concerned in British industry and commerce the fact that all was not well with our commercial system. . . . I would like to refer to two causes which have assisted to make German industrial competition so formidable; they were the German banking system, or rather, methods, and their system of industrial combinations."

The above rings true—true to the real capitalist soul without beating about the bush. The whole speech is in the same strain, which shows that in spite of pinching Germany's State Insurance schemes and other modern capitalist methods, the British capitalist still found himself outstripped by his Continental competitor in the scramble for markets, and hence the attempt to smash up Germany in the present war.

Here is a further quotation (as summarised by the newspaper) showing the fright our local masters are in that German capitalists may still beat them at their own game:

He had heard a very able and eloquent address from that "Grand Old Man" of the British banking world, Sir Edward Holden, the Chairman of the London City and Midland Bank. Afterwards he invited Sir Edward to give him some assurance that it would be less easy for the great German banks and financial houses to borrow in London, on discount or otherwise, after the war than before it, and he regretted to say that Sir Edward was unable to give any assurance whatsoever to that effect. It might be argued that capital must find employment, that it could not be allowed to lie idle in bank safes, but that argument might have more weight if all the avenues of profitable and reasonably safe employment at home had been exhausted before considering the necessity of lending to our industrial enemies.

Further on the speaker groans:

The other great feature and strength of the German industrial system—its combinations, syndicates, Kartels, vereins, or by whatever name they might be called—was too vast to be dealt with there in detail, but the greatest of them—the metal octopus—as it had been well described, was fairly familiar to them all. In Australia, where it had fastened its tentacles deeply, they had been lopped off by government action, which had decreed that no firm except those having all their directors of British birth, or at least four-fifths of their shares in British-born hands, could in future engage in the mineral trade in Australia. Would that our home Government showed the same willingness to lay the axe to the root of the German commercial upas tree. In the grim industrial struggle which was sure to take place after the war, the trade that was unorganised, the members of which were trusting to their own individual ability and commercial bravery (sic), would have a poor chance of being able to hold its sector of the Imperial industrial line.

Now comes the individual smack in the eye that affected the particular class interests of those the speaker represented:

The half-dozen firms in Belfast who used to compete for the orders of the German shirt and collar makers had a most interesting illustration, just a few days before the outbreak of war, of the operation of the German system. They received individually an identical letter from the Berlin Union of Men's Shirt and Collar Manufacturers inviting them to choose between selling only to members of that union, or in the event of their refusing to bind themselves, of getting no more orders from the members of that union.

Oh naughty naughty Berlin union, how could you be so unkind as to utter such a threat to the sweaters of Belfast work girls!

The speaker gives us some light on the

commercial morality of our honest masters in the following remarks:

Apart from financial indebtedness on the London money market, the balance of ordinary trade with Germany and Austria was decidedly against us. In 1913 we bought from them £77,000,000 worth of goods, and sold to them £52,000,000. Assuming this ratio to have been maintained till the outbreak of war, and the terms of credit being on the average about equal, it follows that at present we owe our enemies about £3 for every £2 they owe us. The advantage to us of this position in a pooling of claims and a contra-account settlement is obvious.

The above quotations are taken from the "Belfast Evening Telegraph" (1st March, 1917). The leading article in the same paper gives us some more enlightened balderdash. Referring to National Service, it says:

The way is now clear for a thoroughly national response to the appeal of Mr. Chamberlain. Whatever the misgivings which may have haunted the minds of those who imagined the step to be only a prelude to industrial compulsion, these fears have been set at rest. Not that the possibility of such compulsion has been absolutely ruled out. That is in the hands of the people. If they of their own free will make adequate answer to the appeal the necessity for compulsion cannot arise. If they do not make answer the choice will then be between overwhelming disaster and compulsion. Nobody loves compulsion for itself, far from it; but as the sole alternative to national catastrophe the case for it would be irresistible. . . . The alternatives are voluntary and hearty obedience, or compulsion.

Now we trust everybody clearly understands the position. There will be no compulsion; you need not join unless you like, but if you don't join you'll have to. We are reminded of the Anarchist's reply in "No. 5 John Street" when he defined Anarchy as a state of society in which "everyone could do as he likes but those who don't shall be made."

Lord Haldane also apparently agrees with the sentiments expressed by the Chairman of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce as witness the following quotation from "Belfast Northern Whig" (3.3.17):

Lord Haldane, speaking at Stockton-on-Tees last week on Education, said our prosperity had made us a little slothful. Therefore not merely Germany, but the United States, Switzerland, and other countries were throwing their energies into the task of disputing our supremacy. There would be a struggle in the industrial world after the war, and we must adapt ourselves to the new conditions.

At the present moment when so much is being talked of in regard to America perhaps it would not be out of place to quote some remarks on American affairs by A. Maurice Low from the "National Review" (August, 1911):

Americans who think imperially recognise that so long as the British Empire remains intact the dream of American primacy will not be realised, and only when the Empire is disintegrated will Great Britain be forced to surrender first place. This does not mean that the American would deliberately do anything to bring about the downfall of Great Britain, but all history has taught that nations, like individuals, rise and decline and die, that all nature lives to decay, and decays to live again; and if it be inevitable that nations must at last yield their greatness, and that the span of national existence, like that of mortal, is limited, then the same destiny that has ordained that Great Britain shall fall has selected the United States to rise. The American will not assist destiny, (?) but he will make no attempt to resist it.

How does all this square with the oft repeated phrase, "The War that will end War" that enticed our brothers to the bloody shambles across the water? The whole of the quotations made bear out our contention (made on every possible occasion) that wars are necessary under capitalism on account of the competition of different sections of the capitalists to see who can obtain the largest share of the swag stolen from the international working class. When "our industrial enemies" (vide Mr. Wilson), cannot be undersold or outflanked on the industrial field then they must be thrust out of the market through operations on the battle fields.

As industrial operations have become vast and the coalitions of capitalists international, so the military operations have also of necessity become mighty, involving nearly half the globe in the turmoil. In the present struggle the toll of killed and crippled goes up week by week until it has now reached an appalling total. Every nation involved can show its quota of working men injured for life and its lists of

killed, in a struggle that does not concern them. Every working-class home shows the ravages of war, whether in the form of absent or crippled brothers and sons or the scarcity of the necessities of life. Now to cheer us up we learn from Mr. Churchill ("Northern Whig" 6.3.17):

They (the Government) must use the manhood of the whole world. Men of every race and every clime must serve behind the lines, and where possible in the lines according to their quality. They must use machinery at its highest form and must look for new fields and new methods of manœuvre. They could make a certainty of 1918 if they took the necessary measures without delay.

Cheering, isn't it? More rivers of working-class blood are required before the capitalist vampires will be satisfied. "Another year shall roll."

In conclusion, to come a little nearer home, in spite of "our" commercial greatness, the slums of Irish towns (including especially loyal Ulster) for extent, rottenness, and depth of degradation, could hold their own against the slums of any other towns in the British Isles. The writers, being working men, are fairly well acquainted with slums and are certainly more interested in the destruction of these than in Louvain or the other celebrated Continental beauty spots. You see the slums are around us—we have to live in them, whilst the other places we are little likely to see this side of the grave unless a miracle happens.

Come, fellow-workers, enlist in the great International army of the proletariat which has as its objective the abolition of private property—the root of all wars. Mick and Mack.

RETROSPECTIVE.—Continued.)

missioners" in motor-cars with powers to "shoot at sight" anyone refusing them information, and to extort alike from the innocent and the guilty compensation for the damage done under threat of a forced levy. These facts and others of the kind, some of which are revealed in the Governor's despatches and others in the sworn affidavits of prominent citizens, European and native, make it clear that a far graver danger to Ceylon and to the traditions of British rule (sic) lay in the means taken to deal with the riots than in the riots themselves.

The "Manchester Guardian" summed up the penalties as follows:

Martial law was proclaimed on June 2nd and was not revoked till August 30th. Three hundred and fifty-eight prisoners were convicted by courts-martial, 31 executed, and the remainder sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from two years, to life. In addition nearly a thousand were sentenced by civil courts to terms of less than two years. Finally compensation for the damage done is being levied on all villages which cannot prove conclusively that they had no part in the riots. It takes the form of a "voluntary" contribution made under threat of a forced levy extracted by troops, and in guarantee of its payment the property owners in each village have to pledge their land and goods entirely to the Government. Such is the recent history of a singularly peaceable people whose loyalty is not in question.

What think you of these barbarities, fellow-workers? If Louvain was the work of Huns surely the above was the work of super-Huns, who evidently go in for, not merely plain Kultur, but intensive Kultur. While these events were actually happening the government responsible was slobbering over the destruction of small nationalities! Can any government on earth surpass, for duplicity, hypocrisy, lying deceit, and ruthless repression the premier capitalist government of the present day—that of Great Britain?

One paragraph in the report is illuminating and suggestive, leading to the idea that there was more underlying the ruthlessness of the repression than meets the eye:

Nationalist aspirations in Ceylon are expressed through a society for "closer race unity," which incidentally carries on a temperance campaign against a liquor traffic with which THE GOVERNMENT IS IDENTIFIED.

H. GILMUR.

Owing to the contributor of the above articles importing under the heading "India" a reference to the Denshawai outrage without stating that Denshawai is in Egypt, communications have reached us that Denshawai is still where it was. Statement accepted with thanks.—Ed. Cow.

REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS.

BEING THE SEQUEL TO "ORTHODOXY."

II. The Modern Phase.

The several revolutions which, in the various States, ushered in the present (capitalist) order of society, were not, in reality, fought to advance the interests of the propertyless masses, however much the "war cries" which thereat resounded may have seemed to point to that conclusion. Man's ideals have ever tended to soar high above the real earthly conditions from which they arose, only to fall back to earth again at the first attempt to join them in reality. The intellectual leaders who voiced the Revolution's aims, and the political leaders, from Cromwell to Robespierre, who handled it, were really representatives of a class, held down, it is true, by the traditional rulers, but propertied, and relying for their existence even as much as their old oppressors, upon an enslaved class of producers. Ignorant, and led like sheep, the workers were only "pawns in the game." In that classic example, the French bourgeois revolution of 1789, the working people, rallied by the deceptive slogan, "liberty, equality, and fraternity," and urged on by the hopes born of a half-starved stomach, wreaked wild vengeance on every manifestation of things as they had been. Temporarily unleashed from the hideous subjection which had been theirs for centuries they forced the pace of their bourgeois leaders. King, aristocrats, and religion were swept ruthlessly aside, the worship of "Reason" was set up, and there issued forth the proclamation of the "Rights of Man." He who declared himself more than a "citizen" was a traitor to the Republic fit only for the guillotine.

But when their vigour had spent itself came the reaction. The bourgeoisie, whom the untamed "mob" had helped into power, fearful lest their own newly acquired supremacy should, in the flood rush, be undermined, turned round on their erstwhile allies. "Law and Order" were once more established; religion, the hoary handmaiden of class rule, was resurrected, until finally, under the heel of Bonaparte's militaristic despotism, the way was smoothed for an unhampered run of capitalist dominion.

Meanwhile, in England, where the bourgeoisie had already achieved an almost complete triumph in its struggle to throw off the fading socio-political relics of Feudalism, a change in the technique of industry was taking place, which was destined to enormously magnify the influence of the capitalist class. Machinery and steam power revolutionised both production and transport, and the changes which followed in social conditions were necessarily great and far-reaching. Vastly increased powers of production, combined with an unscrupulous greed, brought wealth rapidly and in abundance to the coffers of the employers of labour. But in the "iron man" the working class found a relentless enemy. With the displacement of the workers rendered superfluous by the machines' increased productivity, with the stranglehold laid on the skill of the hand-worker, with untrained women and children of tender years yoked to the whirling mechanisms, the proletariat was ground down to a frightful state of wretchedness and despair never equalled before or since. The class cleavage became more marked than ever. And as the lords of capital advanced in economic prosperity, their hold upon society grew. They controlled and perfected to a degree such manifold and efficient means, by which to mould the ideas and opinions of society to their liking, as had been granted to no ruling class before them. And this made possible the impregnation through and through the whole community of those conceptions which were bound up with and defensive of their interests, in the manner which our previous essay "Orthodoxy" outlined.

The failure of the French Revolution to realise that reign of equality and universal well-being which it had "shouted from the house-tops" as its object, and which many even of its most intellectual supporters had expected of it, together with the increased misery of the working class incurred by the "industrial revolution," brought a few of the more penetrating social students of the time, to see that

the true cause of poverty and most other "social ills," was the use in competition, and for the private gain of a class, of the tools and other means of production. All, they said, ought to co-operate in the production of wealth for the promotion of the common good. The abolition of aristocracy was not enough, the money-powered plutocracy must go also. Here, they declared, was the ideal society at last; the social arrangements in accord with Nature's laws and the "eternal rights" of humanity, had been finally invented after thousands of years of unfortunate misery and slime due to groping aimlessly in the dark. St. Simon, Fourier, Cabet, Owen and others set out, each in his own way, to bring the good tidings to the rest of mankind, with a view to an early establishment of the new society. Alas for their hopes, the efforts were in vain. The contented rich, to whom they mainly addressed their appeals, ignored both their arguments and their pleadings, and the proletariat, however much to be sympathised with, they considered too ignorant and brutalised to be safely entrusted with the sacred task of reconstructing society. Their propaganda failed to convince more than a few who gathered into small sects, and no better results came of the practical experiments in the "shape of little communities, pocket editions of the future society, which they indulged in, for in the hostile environment of turbulent competition, and through paucity of support they lived for a time, then flickered and finally died dimly out. This in brief is the tragic story of the Utopian method's failure.

For some time, however, a new conception of man's social organisation had slowly loomed above the intellectual horizon, and, like the morning sun, had cast its first pale gleams upon the few outstanding peaks, later reaching the lower meadows on the hillsides, and destined finally to shed a new, warm glow, illuminating the whole landscape of social structure in the past and the present. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, it came to be generally realised by the most acute sociological thinkers that society was not an artificial creation originating in a "social contract" which could be modified in any direction upon a pre-decided plan, as had been widely believed. Commercial progress had brought into prominence the economic laws which are inseparable from the competitive production of commodities, and had forced a recognition of the existence of impersonal social forces, out of the control of, and far stronger than the individual being. The need for an investigation of these laws gave rise to the "classical" bourgeois economists from Petty to Ricardo. Side by side with political economy there developed the formulation and study of statistics, which revealed the significant facts that many phenomena, hitherto considered to be dominated by accident or "providence," such as the numbers of human births, marriages, deaths, lunatics, and criminals, rose and fell according to laws as pronounced as those observed in the extra human world.

The growing evidence of the vast antiquity of man, and of the early barbaric stages, and, still further back, savage beginnings of all civilised peoples, showed that man with his social, artificial and intellectual qualities and appendages, was not an unique "god-like" being, cut apart from nature and its works, but that his place was in and he a part of the natural order of things. The evolutionary view, that all things and conditions are interdependent and transitional products of an ever-moving, not embracing process of passing and becoming, not constant and independent entities; soon to be given a triumphal impetus by Darwin's "Origin of Species" and the generalisations of Herbert Spencer, had been, in a manner, developed by Hegel, the influence of whose philosophy, especially in Germany, was at one time very far-reaching.

Among the many young German students of Hegel in the "forties" were Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Both were greatly influenced by Ludwig Feuerbach's criticism of Hegelianism, who declared man's ideas to be the effects of material conditions and not the reverse, as Hegel had believed. Marx and Engels therefore renounced Hegel's idealistic system whilst retaining his evolutionary viewpoint and became materialists. Marx was a student of law,

philosophy and history, and to gain an understanding of the connections between material interests and legal relations, together with economic theories and questions in general, took up the study of political economy, that science which investigated the conditions of wealth production and distribution.

He saw that political and legal forms or systems could not be explained, as he put it, "by the so-called general progress of the human mind," as it was customary for superficial theorists to assume. He concluded on the contrary that they were conditioned by the relations between the different classes in society. Already it was widely realised by students of the great French Revolution, especially by St. Simon and some of the French historians, that that event was primarily a conflict between the old nobility and the bourgeois middle class. But Marx, who applied the results of his economic studies to his wide knowledge of history, soon saw that the struggle between classes was a far more extensive and important element in the action of history than had ever hitherto been realised. That, indeed, such contests were the primary guiding forces in the background of the political changes and agitations recorded in written history. And, further, that intellectual developments of all kinds are largely influenced by the same agencies. To the question as to the origins of classes and their several interests, Marx found the solution of that also in the course of his politico-economic researches; namely, that the basis of all social, political, religious and intellectual structure and processes, is to be found in the material conditions under which men live; above all, in the prevailing method of producing and distributing wealth. Finally, he found the improvement of the technical instruments and means (such as tools, machines and industrial processes) used in acquiring subsistence to be the fundamental cause of evolution in society.

In the meantime, his friend, Engels, had arrived at practically the same conclusions while investigating the conditions of the English working class, especially of the influence of machinery and the factory system upon them. When they met in 1845 at Brussels they worked out their theory in detail together and thus began a long personal and literary co-operation such as has rarely been equalled.

Several minor proletarian risings on the Continent, the hard struggles of the early trade unions, and especially the great English Chartist movement gave the lie to the ideas, that class distinctions were wiped out as the bourgeois spokesmen proclaimed, and that capital and labour were brothers—another of their platitudes. Class divisions certainly still existed, but they were simplified. No longer towered the complex hierarchy of Feudal society with its numerous social layers, lay and ecclesiastic. Capitalists and proletarians, propertied exploiters and propertyless wage-slave faced each other, not indeed at that time, as the only classes, but decidedly, where the "great industry" predominated, as the principal ones. And Marx saw clearly that this simplification into these two paramount groups was bound to proceed as capitalist production unfolded itself. He agreed with Owen and the other Utopian communists that the conditions for the emancipation of the working class from the thralldom imposed by capital, lay in the social ownership and control of the productive forces. But the mere recognition of this fact was, he saw, far from sufficient, and here came his great parting from the ways of the Utopians.

His conception of society would not allow him to accept any policy for social re-organisation, unless he saw it to be a necessity flowing from the needs of industrial development. The great depth of his learning in economic science, however, enabled him to demonstrate that communal possession of the means of production was the essential corollary of a process which had been, and was still taking place, and that was—the gradual transformation of the method of production, from one in which the individuals labour functioned practically in independence, creating unaided a finished product; into that where a collectivity of workers engaged in different sub-operations, co-operated in the process.

Marx showed that the personal ownership of

that which was socially used, and the corresponding individual appropriation of the product of collective labour, was the hitherto unscented cause to which could be traced the bulk of social ailments—starving poverty in contrast with unprecedented riches, unemployment, industrial depressions, commercial wars and a host of less obvious ones. That further, capitalistic organisation involving production only for profit, placed a restriction destined to grow more and more pronounced, upon the use and progress of the forces of creating wealth, even as Feudal organisation had, in its time cramped the growth of commodity production. And, just as the last buttresses of Feudalism went down before the swinging blows of the champions of capital, Marx realised that bourgeois society was bound to reach a stage when it also would meet its death-blow, and give way to a higher social form in which the socialised means of production would be owned and consciously controlled by society, which would use them to satisfy in full the needs of all its members. Thereby would classes with their clashing interests cease to exist, and the emancipation of the world's workers from slavery made at last a reality.

The principles of the Utopians being out of keeping with the findings of science, their tactics based upon them were necessarily wrong in theory and futile in practice. History, Marx saw, gave no sanction to the belief that any ruling class ever voluntarily abdicated its position in response to ethical appeals or reasoned arguments. That, on the contrary, each successive master class held on to its supremacy just so long as it had the power to do so. Only when its power was broken by that of a revolutionary class did it perforce give way. Therefore the proletariat, to achieve its freedom, could only place reliance in its own might, born of its own clear knowledge and organisation.

The hostile reception accorded to the propaganda of Owen and his fellows, together with the bloodthirsty crushing of the 1848 revolts, fully confirmed this view. Marx foresaw that for the first time in history the conditions were approaching making possible the union of the world's workers across the frontiers of continents. Capitalism was by the very necessity of its existence, fastening its hold on every land, in every clime, breaking down every opposing social order, savage, patriarchal or feudal, and spreading broadcast those results of its economy familiar to the places of its birth. Among the world-wide working class thus generated, the common quality of the merchandise character of its own labour-power, with the enslaving effects which ensue, would be a tie asserting itself in due time above all national, racial and religious prejudices, which even the bourgeois order itself was rapidly undermining. Marx and his co-worker, Engels, gave up their lives to the revolutionary movement of the proletariat; that class which they realised was to forge ahead to the next stage in the evolution of human association.

Thus arose modern Socialism on its theoretical side. Socialist ideas and principles have travelled to every quarter of the globe where capitalist production finds a foothold, and its literature, in many tongues, has become international in its span. Slowly, but surely, the oppressed and exploited workers everywhere are coming to realise the truth pregnant in that saying of Karl Marx: "the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself." Those workers who have attained to the clear light of class-conscious thought, have a new outlook, which differs in almost its every manifestation from the capitalistic viewpoint which dominated the intellects of millions of his fellows. At every point the Socialist and the orthodox conceptions clash in conflict, and naturally so, for they are the intellectual garb of two opposing interests—on the one hand of the capitalist, on the other of the proletarian. One, the parasitic incrustation of a diseased body politic, standing for the maintenance with all its horrors of society as it is; the other, generating the materials of subsistence, with hands hardened by the toil of centuries, a bearer of burdens, a welder of matter; his destiny—the live agent in uprooting the society of the present and upraising the society of the future;

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

197, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—All communications to A. Jones, 3 Mathew St., Latchmere St., Battersea, S.W.

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TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlia-rd. Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Secy., 107 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 469, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 10 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

a society wherein man, as the prey of man, will exist no more.

Then, when the ignorance of the many is no longer a necessity of social existence, increasing knowledge will add only to the welfare of humanity. When it is freed from the thongs of the class ruling which bound it, man's intellect will soar to altitudes the immensity of which we cannot even conceive. His creations, material and mental, will surely surpass the achievements of our day by as much as ours do those of the flint-armed savage of the old stone age, who roamed in the dim dawn of man's slow, painful, upward evolution to the zenith of his race.

R. W. HOUSLEY.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

—:—

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

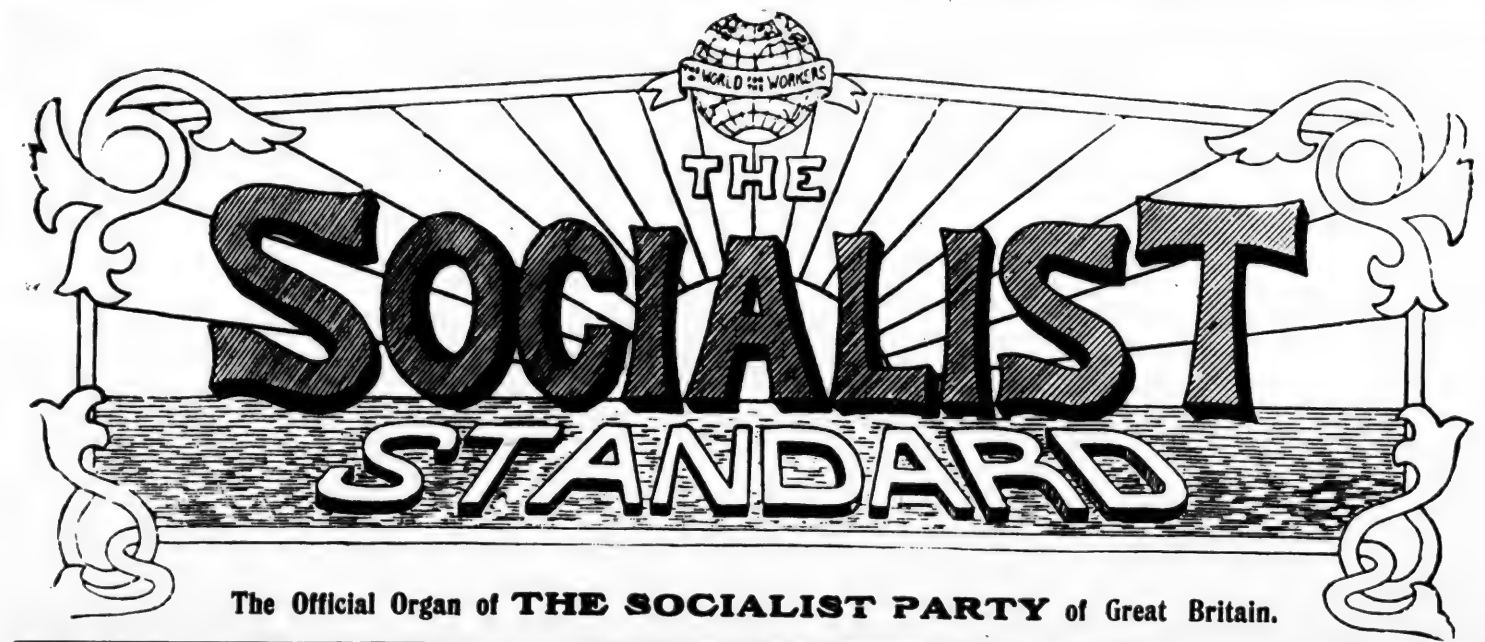
OF THE

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LONDON, MAY, 1917.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

EASTER, 1917.

A SURVEY AND A STATEMENT.

Spring still sees the murder machine of war carrying on its ruthless work. The toll of dead and wounded, of maimed and crippled, of the working class of the various belligerent countries only varies in its monotony by its increasing quantity. In other directions changes are rapidly taking place in the methods and constitutions of the different countries that would have seemed quite improbable a short time ago.

Perhaps the most unexpected of the changes has been the revolution in Russia. Information published here is small in quantity and only of such kind and character as the master class choose to let us know, hence caution is necessary before arriving at conclusions based upon such news as we have. One of the most significant features of the business is the speed and unanimity with which the several governments and other supporters of the capitalist system of society have hastened to praise the Russian revolution, and to offer their congratulations and advice—particularly the latter—to the Provisional Government and the Workers' Committee.

The common theme of all these messages is the need for the more vigorous prosecution on the part of Russia of the war against the Central Powers. So far as can be judged from the news published here, the replies seem generally to be favourable to these promptings, though the repudiation by the Workers' Committee of the idea of annexation of territory as a result of the war appears to have somewhat staggered the other parties, who are fighting only for liberty, righteousness, democracy, and freedom.

All the information available, both past and present, shows quite clearly that the upheaval in Russia is not a revolution of the working class, clearly seeing its slave position under the old order and setting to work in an organised fashion to emancipate itself. Far from this is the truth, we are sorry to say. It is but another example of the capitalists using the discontent and numbers of the working class in Russia to sweep away the Feudal rules and restrictions so strongly symbolised in the Czar and the Council of Nobles, and to establish a system of government in line with modern capitalist needs and notions.

Hence the welcome given to the revolution, not only by the capitalist governments in their official capacity, and also by their various hangers-on, like Hyndman, Kropotkin, the B.S.P., I.L.P., etc.

According to the report in the "Daily Telegraph" of 18th April, 1917, the Duma gave a great welcome to the decoy ducks of the British Government, Messrs. W. Thorne, J. O'Grady, and W. S. Saunders. These individuals were sent out by the Government as representatives of the "Labour" movement here, although not a single organisation of workers was consulted as to their views on the matter, nor was their choice asked in reference to a representative.

The "Labour" organisations have been completely ignored in the matter, and the individuals referred to have been chosen by the Government because of their peculiar fitness to perform the dirty work required to be done.

America's entry into the human slaughter whirlpool was easier to foresee. Huge factories equipped with expensive plant had been built to meet the Allies' demand for munitions of war. Owing to the increasing number of munition factories built here, and the extension and more complete organisation of those already existing, the home supply of munitions has increased enormously. This has meant a serious reduction in the orders going to America, with the result that vast amounts of invested capital are practically idle and unproductive from the capitalists' standpoint. Moreover, the openly announced extension of the German submarine campaign against American vessels, as well as against others, means the danger of losing such cargoes as were being sent over. To keep these factories in America fully employed and thus to continue the vast profits their owners have been reaping, it was necessary to find some market for their wares. The only course open to secure this end was for America to enter into the war and so create the market needed by her own demand for munitions. A more remote, but still very important factor, was the anxiety of the American capitalist class to be represented at the conference that will deal with the settlement of affairs at the end of the war. Their commercial interests, particularly in Asia, might be hampered seriously, or even excluded, from certain areas, unless they were present at the conference with powers equal to those of any of the other parties.

The chatter about defending the rights and liberties of humanity is just the usual cant and humbug which the capitalist class resort to whenever they think fit. It only needs to recall the treatment served out to the natives of the Philippines and, still more significantly, the way the various sections of the working class were bludgeoned and shot down, and their wives and children starved, when the men were locked out or on strike, to show how much "freedom" or "humanity" counts against profits in America, as in every other country where the capitalist system of society exists.

In England both the B.S.P. and the I.L.P., while passing resolutions in favour of peace at their annual conferences, remain affiliated to the "Labour" Party, which not only actively supports the war, but whose prominent members join in the scramble for the well-paid political jobs it has brought into existence.

At the I.L.P. Conference the action of Mr. J. Parker in joining the Government was repudiated, but Parker is still allowed to remain a member of the party on the plea of "toleration."

The fact that the actions of many other pro-

minent members are quite as open to criticism as Mr. Parker's may have something to do with this defence of treachery to the working class. The chairman of this same Conference, Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P., stated:

"Whatever in the nature of protective armaments is necessary to keep the land of my birth free from an invading force I would without hesitation provide. For this purpose I should consider the self-governing colonies and the United Kingdom as one nation."

("Labour Leader," 12.4.1917.)

This is just the same attitude as was taken up by Lord Roberts, Mr. Hyndman, Mr. Blatchford, and the "Daily Mail." For "protective" measures, as every military authority agrees, includes attack as well as defence. Then why condemn Parker for joining the "Committee of Protection" called the Government, if Mr. Jowett is prepared to provide "without hesitation" (or with) the armaments, including, of course, the conscription of men, necessary for this "defence"? Let the twisters of the I.L.P. answer—if they can.

At the beginning of the war the Socialist Party of Great Britain was the only organisation in the British Isles that stated the Socialist position toward this and all other capitalist wars. Now, in the midst of the upheavals taking place in various directions and the suicidal policy of further nations joining in the strife, we still stand by that position, still fight for the emancipation of the working class from the slavery of capitalism, without any regard for racial or geographical boundaries. At our Annual Conference—the third during the war, and well attended despite the inroads made in our ranks by the master class—no doubt or question as to the correctness or soundness of our attitude was heard. On the contrary, the experience of the period since August 1914 has but added fresh evidence in support of the need for Socialist understanding on the part of the working class before they can march to their emancipation. Every new order under the Defence of the Realm Act, whether applied to military or civil purposes, whether for obtaining recruits for the Army or shortening the food supply for the family, shows with startling emphasis the immense weapon of control formed by the political machinery. Not until that weapon is torn from the masters' hands by the working class, with an understanding of their object and the organisation to achieve it, will there be any hope of peace on earth with happiness for all.

By our motto, "The World for the Workers," we still take our stand, and continue to strike the note that has been the key to our actions since the Party was first formed, namely, "The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself."

ED. COM. SOCIALIST STANDARD.

ARGUMENT BY INTERROGATION.

The Bishop of London, writing in "Reynolds's Newspaper" of March 18th last, asks the question: "Can there be a real brotherhood between the representatives of Capital and Labour?" He says: "The answer at first sight is 'Why not?'" The answer to his first question is a second question which does not answer the first, and remains itself unanswered.

The bishop tells us a number of things about this class struggle, deploring some, and expresses the hope that better relations will exist at the termination of the war. But never once does he make the attempt to show either the possibility of better relations between the working class and the capitalist class or why better relations are not possible. He says:

For the last fifty years Capital and Labour have been incessantly at war, and in some industries suspicion and hatred have grown to such a pitch that many despair of ever seeing a better state of things.

Instead of tackling the questions without fear or predudices, the eminent priest continues to ask further questions—and leaves them all unanswered. "Why," he pleads,

should not an amicable agreement be possible as to the share which each is to have in industry?

and again—

Sirs, you are brothers; why do ye wrong one another?

This Church dignitary, having obtained his share of the fruits of working-class industry, imagines that he is free of the sordid commercial struggle for markets, or the class war, which, growing in bitterness and magnitude, shocks and pains his sensitive nature. He aspires to the position of arbitrator between the warring classes, but being in the pay of the ruling class, his aspiration is impertinent and fraudulent.

As a priest the bishop is charged by the ruling class with the duty of "ministering to the spiritual needs of the people," i.e., persuading them to ignore the material needs of this life and look to the ghostly future, or a supposed spiritual side of this mundane and even sordid social existence. Thus we are told that—

The only worthy outcome of the struggle and sacrifice of to-day is a new country, a new Church, a new Empire, a new world. A new country in which Capital and Labour are on friendly terms, in which every man and every woman has his or her chance—every dog his day—and in which there should be a living wage and decent houses for all. But this can only be produced by a new spirit.

Then follows another question, which, like the rest, remains unanswered: "Is this new spirit possible?"

So many new things are predicted that some sort of change seems inevitable; a new world, for instance, would be a universal change. But as a new spirit must precede and be the actual cause of these material changes, and as this new spirit can only be the outcome of previous material conditions, his lordship finds it necessary to demonstrate these and show their connection with all the new things to be, including a day for every dog, a living wage and decent houses for all—himself included, eh?

It is one of the surest signs of the growing intelligence of the working class that even a bishop, when addressing them on subjects connected with their conditions, is compelled to observe the rules of logic and supply a material basis for all his arguments. Thus he argues that the "new spirit" is possible because the material basis is being laid in the trenches. He still makes no definite statements, however—he seems quite content to go on asking questions as though afraid of committing himself. He says:

To-day there seems already a new spirit of brotherhood abroad in the trenches. Is it too much to hope that this spirit will last beyond the war? . . . Cannot this trust and confidence follow after the war? . . . They were ready to die for a common cause; why should they not be ready to live for a common cause in the same spirit?

So the ecclesiastical string of economic interrogations runs on. Every plaintive query is a repetition of the same idea. Every statement is a lament, every question a dismal prayer for

industrial peace—the peace that passeth all understanding—as, indeed, such a peace would be.

But while perceiving with pleasure the bishop's necessity—when discussing industrial questions—to argue from a material basis, one cannot but deplore his inability to refrain from distorting the truth, a practice so common to his trade. Nowhere can the working class and the capitalist class have a common object. Their interests are in sharper antagonism than any national or sectional divisions. Their hostility is rooted in the system. National quarrels cannot stifle the workers into a blissful unconsciousness of their poverty and wretchedness. The promises of social reformers and fraudulent labour leaders no longer impede, with their former success, the growth of working-class indignation and knowledge. Industrial development brings intensified industrial war. Cheaper production breeds a world-struggle for markets, universal anarchy, and the separation of the two classes in society into opposing camps, with full knowledge on both sides of the real and fundamental antagonism of interests that has always been a feature of the capitalist system, though more or less successfully veiled by issues consciously or unconsciously introduced by the capitalist class and its agents.

The bishop, failing to perceive the inevitability of the class struggle, can only deplore it and, in his official capacity, pray to both sides and to God to remove it, and then prattle about the details of the system under which it appears. His discourse, if not his mind, is confined and restricted to the narrow capitalist philosophy that measures everything by its equivalent in gold, and affects to scorn every scientific generalisation or abstract truth that exists independently of commercialism, or that does not serve it.

He does not deny that the Church has failed in courage on the question of Capital and Labour, but he pleads that—

the Church seldom learns the true facts, and again the Church cannot know in any particular dispute which side is to blame. . . . It would be equally wrong to denounce all employers as blood-suckers and tyrants as to hold up trade unions as instruments of the devil.

Accepting the system wherein a small class owns all the means of wealth production and the rest are wage-slaves to them, as constant and durable and not to be questioned, our reverend piffle pretends to adjudicate. He aspires to "sit on the fence" in imitation of his heavenly father. But if he knows nothing else he knows perfectly well that to "denounce all employers as bloodsuckers and tyrants," or even to assert the truth and describe them as exploiters, would be to renounce his princely income and all the other advantages of his position.

It is to the interest of the working class that they should realise the necessity of abolishing class ownership of the means of life, and establishing a system where those means and instruments should be owned in common. The Bishop of London fails to see this necessity because he is not of the working class. Though possibly a transfer might not open his eyes, it would doubtless make him less complacent. In the bishop's opinion there are good capitalists and bad capitalists, and good workers and bad workers. The good capitalists predominate over the bad ones, who no doubt are few and far between. But of the workers the less said the better: we shall best understand his opinion of them from a few more extracts.

First, however, let us see what our Christian big-bug proposes as ameliorative measures to deal with poverty. He can see the necessity for two only.

(1) No industry should be carried on which cannot pay a living wage to the labourers, according to the standard of living at the time. Industries which can only be carried on by sweating must be barred out of the country.

(2) The conditions of labour shall be the best possible. No care or expense must be spared to see that every security for life and limb is taken.

Having secured a fair wage and sound and healthy conditions, it is an equally Christian principle that the work shall be given in full and fair measure for the wage received.

His first suggestion is an enlightening commentary on the rapidity of capitalist development. It is scarcely a century ago that a

justice of peace had the power—and used it—to compel workers to accept "a living wage under the standard." To-day the boot is on the other foot, and social reformers of all kinds endeavour to bring moral pressure to bear on the capitalist to compel him to pay at least a living wage.

Among other things it would be interesting to know what constitutes the standard of living at any given time, and why the workers, who produce all wealth, should be content with that standard—should not ask for more, or, as we advise and urge them, organise to retain the whole of the wealth produced, and arrange for its distribution according to their needs.

The surest way to prevent the workers from taking this line would be to carry out the bishop's suggestions if that were possible. Work for all under the best possible conditions is the plea of many a social softy; but the man, woman, or superman is not yet born capable of making it practicable. So long as the means of wealth production are class-owned, labour-power must remain a commodity, to be bought, in the main, at its cost of production, and subject to all the fluctuations of supply and demand. The increase of unemployment in normal times exerts a depressing influence on these fluctuations, preventing upward movements in wages except among small groups of workers here and there. So true is this, and so patent, that it has become a common complaint among the workers that their standard of living is constantly falling.

The worthy bishop, having suggested these improvements, sees no reason why they should not be introduced; consequently he proceeds to lecture the worker on his duty.

From this we see on which side of the scales Christianity is lumped. All that the workers should aspire to and struggle for, according to Christian principles, is a fair wage and sound and healthy conditions. Christianity sees no degradation in wage-slavery, no crime in the wholesale robbery of the working class. The avowed object of the capitalist class to intensify exploitation by increasing the efficiency of the workers and by abolishing all rules and regulations for restricting output is supported by the Church. Already the capitalist class take two-thirds of the total wealth produced—by the working class alone. For eight months in every year the working class toil to support an idle class in affluence and luxury. The Bishop of London not only thinks they should continue to do so, but that they should increase their efforts.

Let the workers reply to him by using their intelligence and judgment that they may obtain a true perspective of their class position, when they will at once perceive the necessity for organising as a political party, in order to take under their own control the means of production, to be operated in their own interest. This is the only effective answer to the capitalist exploiter and the religious parasite, whether they profess to palliate exploitation or intensify it.

F. F.

THE NEEDS OF OTHERS.

Working-class parents are urged not to feed oatmeal to their blooming kids, otherwise the foxhounds may have to find a substitute. Capitalist papers and the Food Controller please copy.

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SOCIAL DARWINISM.

A YALE PROFESSOR'S BACKING TO THE MARXIAN ARGUMENT.

(Concluded.)

One other example is of especial interest from our point of view: "the introduction of the factory system seemed to throw the whole organisation of society into disorder and chaos. . . . But this phenomenon means no more than the falling out of adjustment of the secondary societal forms with the primary. An access of pain and want—the unmistakable sign of maladaptation—promptly ensued and forced the secondary forms into better adjustment with the primary. The former had to catch up so to speak with the latter."

Here Keller illustrates a peculiar malady to which the social organism is especially liable, which might be termed maladjustment of parts. To assure the utmost adaptation to external circumstances, an organism must be thoroughly adapted internally. In other words, for the whole structure to be efficient there must be a perfect co-ordination of organ with organ inside the body, a uniformity of development. There must not be a great progression of some organs or structures, leaving other parts of the organism undeveloped and out of adjustment. This rarely happens among natural organisms owing to the intensity of the struggle with environment, but it is not entirely unknown. The titanic diplococus, a reptile of the middle period of the earth's history, although eighty feet long and weighing thirty tons, had a brain no larger than a newly born infant's, quite incapable of allowing a vigorous co-ordinated activity to the whole vast bulk. Remains of a creature as big as a rhinoceros but with ridiculous-looking teeth about as small as a hog's have been found. Such forms are only adapted to easy conditions, with little or no competition. While such conditions remain they may persist, but when a crisis, a time of stress and struggle, arises, they perish.

The social system is peculiarly liable to such bad co-ordination of parts; indeed, at a certain stage of its development this becomes periodically inevitable. This follows from the peculiar nature of its structure. Unlike the cells of an animal, the cells, or individuals, of the social organism are conscious, reasoning agents. Unlike the organs of the animal, the social organs, that is the groups of individuals which perform the different functions requisite to social living, often have their own special interests distinct from the interests of other groups or the welfare of the whole organism. Sectional interests may and do conflict. "When the society is compounded and differentiated in its elements, these elements are characterised by differing codes of mores. But some of the elements, or classes, seem to be succeeding in life—to be securing obvious material advantages to which others have not attained. Comparison of group destiny, resulting in dissatisfaction, must have developed very early." Those classes which are benefited by the form of society which exists will naturally exert all their influence and power against a change to a form less advantageous. If such a class gets hold of the political machinery, thus dominating the social life, it can to some extent preserve such institutions as it desires, despite the fact that, from the economic point of view, they may be obsolete, that is, out of adjustment with the method and institutions of acquiring subsistence.

Just as the diplococus could live on for a time amid favourable circumstances, with all its bad organic co-ordination, so can a society with its superstructure estranged from the basic economic conditions. But when critical times came the great reptile was annihilated. Capitalist production as it is to-day is typical of this social malformation, and when up against the crisis of the great war now raging its internal weaknesses revealed themselves. Competitive production by individual firms lacks efficiency and is wasteful, hence the moves toward centralised control which the several capitalist States have taken. The free action of the economic laws of capitalism weaken social cohesion, hence the

great increase during the war of State interference. But such minor modifications can be made without immediate injury to the ruling-class interest. The complete re-adjustment which becomes ever more necessary between the primary and the secondary social forms, can obviously, however, only be brought about by the class which is dissatisfied with the established conditions and desires the change to be made. "It is asking too much of human beings to expect one group to safeguard the diverging interests of another. Each group must try to get power to realise its own." And in its struggle for this power the class must place its whole faith and reliance upon its own strength and organisation. "No outside observer, however learned, can sense interests as those who feel their stress directly."

For a class to realise its aspirations and bring about conditions in its interests, it must first become the ruling class by securing political domination. As Keller says, "if a class gets political power, it can conserve and further realise its mores." With modern conditions of government political parties are the vehicles through which sectional or class interests are expressed. But most existing parties consist only of a small group who are conscious of its real aims and class nature, scheming for power, and supported by a more or less ignorant mass who are deluded by hero-worship and the false claims of their leaders. Such parties obviously rely for their existence upon the ignorance of the workers, who form the bulk of the electorate, for they all assist in maintaining the system of exploitation, to which the workers' real interests are opposed. Keller's remarks upon party politics are to the point. "In general the party in power will stay in power so long as it can 'give the people prosperity,' or persuade them that it is doing that—so long as they are contented. . . . History and common-sense are perverted, deliberately, to demonstrate this." "Each candidate is endowed by his supporters with the standard virtues of the mores ('honesty,' etc.), and often the attempt is made to 'blacken the character' of the opposition by reference to delinquencies of one kind or another." "It is a source of never-ending astonishment and disheartenment to observe the ignorance, prejudices, and even superstition displayed in politics by people who are well-informed and rational of judgment in other lines." When a new class really does get complete control a social transformation inevitably occurs: "Such upheavals on the grand scale, as in the French Revolution, are repeated on the small scale from time to time in any State."

In concluding this review of Keller's work let us just glance at his remarks on present day society and its developments in the near future. His treatment of modern capitalist society we have no hesitation in saying is by far the least satisfactory portion of the book. In the last chapter he proposes to make the same examination of the latest form of social structure as in the two previous chapters he did of Eskimo and frontier societies; that is, show the influence of the mode of living upon the social structure. Unfortunately he contents himself with a few brief and scrappy references to the artificiality of modern society and the influence which the predominance of city life has upon such relatively unimportant matters as religion and marriage. Had Prof. Keller shown and dwelt upon the great unconformity between the collective or social nature of production to-day and the capitalist property form under which it is carried on, which results in what he himself admits is "an unmistakable sign of maladaptation," namely, an "access of pain and want" due to poverty, unemployment, wars, etc., he would have completed his work and made it a masterly piece of social analysis. Unfortunately the price of such a course would have been the loss of his position as "professor of the science of society at Yale University."

Keller is also to be censured for not fully acknowledging Karl Marx as the principal discoverer of the economic basis of social forms, and of the class struggle as a powerful agent of historic progress. In dealing with Socialism Keller gives vent to a statement which either proceeds from a total ignorance of it (which is almost inconceivable in so able a sociologist) or

it is a daring piece of bluff. "It is possible," he says, "to believe in something like Marxian economic determinism, and then, when it comes to a plan of action, try to help adapt society to the conditions of life as learned; it is not necessary that we should plan to alter the environment in toto, change human nature and other somewhat permanent elements in it rather than accommodate ourselves, even though it is not so easy or grandiose, to life conditions and laws."

Surely Prof. Keller knows that the disciples of Marx propose to change no element in human nature (except such as would result from the social change) but accept it as it is. Furthermore it is precisely the advice which he gives to those desirous of altering society, that we Socialists believe to be the only practical policy and a proposition which will eventually be carried out. He says, "the improver might turn attention to the effort to help the secondary societal forms get into consistency or harmony with the improved primary ones. This is about as far as reason can go safely and securely in societal evolution. This conclusion cannot content the 'world beater,' but it may afford a definite, though minimal, hope to those whose ideals are less exalted, and who respect reason enough to wish to go a furlong with her rather than a mile, or even twain in an emotional ecstasy." This is so exactly the proposition of the Marxists, in fact so excellent a formulation of our attitude in opposition to our Utopian opponents, that it is worth while quoting in juxtaposition the following from Frederick Engels' "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" in order to prove that it is so.

"The growing perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreason, and right wrong, is only proof that in the modes of production and exchange changes have silently taken place, with which the social order, adapted to earlier economic conditions, is no longer in keeping."

"From this it also follows that the means of getting rid of the incongruities that have been brought to light, must also be present, in a more or less developed condition, within the changed modes of production themselves. These means are not to be invented by deduction from fundamental principles, but are to be discovered in the stubborn facts of the existing system of production."

Finally, we heartily recommend to the notice of all students of society, especially Socialists, this excellent addition to the literature of sociology, which, notwithstanding its defects, it undoubtedly is. Not only does it show how the principles bearing the name of the illustrious Darwin are at work unceasingly in the sphere of society just as in that of animal and plant life, in a manner more thorough than has ever (so far as the present writer is aware) been done before; but it also vindicates the position of we Socialists who have declared to the world that our principles are based upon the fullest scientific investigation into the constitution of society. Such a vindication is our triumph, and a still greater triumph, even if posthumous, for the great old man who has now lain thirty years in the clay of Highgate Cemetery.

Surely Marx is coming into his own.
R. W. H.

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This can be done, as soon as the Government chooses, by nothing more recondite than such a systematic rearrangement of the necessary works and orders of the Government departments and local

The third clause of the Charter deals with "A Constitution for Factory and Industry," and suggests details of a constitution ranging from the appointment of a Shop Steward to a National Council for the whole Industry, the latter body to consider, among other things, such matters as "Technical Training and Apprenticeship."

To the novice in industrial warfare the above looks quite good and plausible. Ask, however, any trade unionist with but a moderate experience of disputes what is the chief cause of the numerous so-called demarcation fights, and you will find that it is the attempt on the masters'

What can the workers do to meet this extended power? Let them take a leaf out of the masters' book. We are promised certain extensions and modifications of the Franchise

The beginning of such an organisation already exists in the Socialist Party of Great Britain. Let the workers study the Principles and Policy of that party, and if they can find any error therein let us know. If unable to find any flaw, then their own interests call aloud to them to join up and fight to put an end to this social system, with its appalling hypocrisies and stupendous lies, its rotten shams and colossal conceits, its waste of wealth and destruction of life and heavy burden of working-class misery, and to build up in its place a system where there will be plenty for all, and where happiness will be the common lot—the system called Socialism.

F. J. W.

As Minister of agriculture you assure us that such an emergency has now arisen, and that the security of the nations food supply may largely depend upon the labour which can be devoted to the land in the next few weeks. This being so we are, I think, following the guidance given in the gospel if in such a case we make a temporary departure from our rule.

with a clear conscience do field work on Sundays.—"Daily Chronicle," March 15th, 1917.

Faith in God seems to be a thing of the past with the sky pilot to-day. Years ago "Our Father which art in heaven" used to provide the children of Israel with manna from on high. Here I would add that in those days there was no gathering of manna on the Sabbath as it was to be observed as a day of rest. But in the 20th century reliance is placed on the application of human labour-power to the soil, with a recognition that having ploughed, prepared, and sown the seed, the material sun will in due course bring it to fruition. Hence it would appear that it has dawned upon His Grace that to make sure of the time of harvest God must be relegated to the dim and distant past.

In pre-war days our Holy Joe and his tribe have strenuously opposed any suggested relaxation of Sabbath day observance as it might encroach on their preserves and they might lose their hold on the masses. To-day, however, a departure may be made "for the well-being of the people," and some musty passage of Scripture must be found in order to justify (?) the same. Could cant go further?

One other item in connection with Holy Church. According to an announcement in the Press another man of God, the Dean of Carlisle, perhaps better known as Canon Barker, left £84,000 when he sweetened the earth by kicking the bucket. If the Scriptures be true a hot time awaits him in the next world.

Time and time again the writer has commented on that body of sharks and charlatans known as the Labour Party, who have used the workers' pence and political ignorance in order to gain place and power. Their utter worthlessness to the workers should now be apparent to all who have eyes to see. How they have handed over the working class to the master class on each and every occasion during the last three years is a historic fact. And now, when one would at least expect a little consideration to be shown to the men who have been persuaded to join the armed forces by this body of "leaders," we find that on a most important occasion, when the welfare of the men incapacitated in the war was to be discussed in the House of Commons, not more than four Labour members were present at any time during the Pensions Minister's speech. Let me quote:

Bearing in mind that Mr. Barnes is Labour Minister and that he was dealing with a problem intimately affecting the future of men broken in the war, and the welfare of their families, it was reasonable to expect that the Labour members would have been present in the House in force to-day. The contrary was the case. At no time were there more than four Labour members in the House, and only one, Mr. O'Grady, sat through the speech of the Minister of Pensions. This lack of interest in the human wreckage of the war is not creditable to the Labour Party.—"Daily Chronicle," March 7th, 1917.

Such, then, is the evidence of the indifference of this gang of tricksters who batten on the apathy and ignorance of the workers. Take heed, therefore, fellow workers, and see to it that never again shall you place yourselves in the hands of these betrayers of working-class interests. Study your class position in modern society, understand the message of Socialism, and the day of the "labour leader" will have passed away.

The question of pensions and grants for the men discharged from the Army and Navy is an interesting one, and recalls to the mind the questions and answers which have from time to time been asked and given in the House. On several occasions when the point had been raised as to the taking of men for the Army who were obviously unfit, the official reply was a denial of the alleged fact. Last May Mr. Tennant, in reply to Colonel Yate, delivered himself as follows:

There was no foundation for the suggestion that the lame, the halt and the blind had been recruited to swell the numbers of the Army. The Army Council did not desire that men unfit for general service should be passed into the ranks.—"Daily Chronicle," May 26th, 1916.

If time and space permitted many cases could be cited to prove the falsity of this. But better still is the admission, long overdue, of the exact position with regard to the taking of unfit men. I will give a quotation from Mr. Maclean, M.P., Chairman of the House of Commons Appeal Tribunal. He says:

We now know that the Army has had to discharge 100,000 men, physically unfit, owing to their having been sent into the Army when in a state of low physical efficiency, and I am sure that there are another 100,000 men who will have to be discharged as unfit.—"Daily News," March 7th, 1917.

Doubtless many of these men who have now had to be discharged appeared in the "Derby" figures as "slackers" when that great conjuring performance was at its height. It would appear from the evidence that the idea of the authorities was to kill or cure. Concerning these men whose imperfections had been aggravated the Pensions Minister said:

Of medically unfit men there are now 100,000. Should they have a pension? Mr. Hogge says, Yes; Mr. Barnes, emphatically, No. "They will not get it," he declared, "while I am in office." These men had been passed into the Army owing to the great pressure at which doctors had to work in the early days.—"Daily News," March 7th, 1916.

Those believers in, and supporters of, this so-called Labour Minister, as well as those more directly affected, would do well to ponder over these words: "They will not get it!" Although having been passed for service by the Army's medical advisers, when their ailments developed as a result of service and they are of no further use in that capacity, they must be shunted at the lowest possible figure. A weekly paper comments on this as follows:

Perhaps one point on which Mr. Barnes was unconvincing was in his defence of the plan by which a man discharged as medically unfit gets no pension, but only a lump sum, which in no case may exceed £100. Of the 100,000 who came into this category, many who ought never to have been taken into the Army are now hopeless physical wrecks. If they had not been forced to undergo the rigors of a military life they would probably have been valuable citizens for years. Is even £100 any adequate compensation in such a case?—"Reynolds's," March 11th, 1917.

What an acquisition Barnes is proving to the master class. He is earning his blood-money thoroughly well.

"It's never too late to mend," says the old saw, and it would seem that at long last wisdom is dawning on our rulers. Major Godfrey Collins recently expressed the view in parliamentary debate that the revolution in Russia had been brought about through the scarcity of food and transport facilities, which was largely due to men being withdrawn from productive industries. He asked: "Could we not gain some experience from this?" Further, he said, "The gaunt spectre of famine is stalking through the world. Let us be on our guard against it in this country." In reply

Mr. Bonar Law said the Cabinet had had departments before them and in every case agreement had been arrived at. It had been made clear to the War Office and to the Board of Agriculture that in this particular case the Cabinet regarded the production of food as more important even than sending men to the Army.—"Daily Chronicle," March 17th, 1917.

In our December issue in this column comment was made on the case of a gentleman who was seeking exemption from military service, and in whose journal compulsion had been advocated. A short extract from my quotation of "Blackwood's Magazine" for November would, perhaps, not be out of place here. It reads: "Compulsion is the law of the land, and if the present government dare not take the soldiers the country needs we must find another government which will." Just recently I came across another reference to this case, which affords a good illustration of "Equality of Sacrifice" in practice.

Mr. James H. Blackwood, of the firm of well-known publishers, was granted an extension till July 1st by the House of Commons Appeal Tribunal yesterday. He mentioned that the circulation of "Blackwood's Magazine" had considerably increased

since the war began.—"Daily Chronicle," March 16th, 1917.

One wonders whether, if the applicant had been some ordinary worker, or a member of the S.P.G.B., engaged in increasing the circulation of that far more important journal, the Socialist Standard, he would have received such generous treatment.

The revolution in Russia and the attitude now adopted by the war party in this country toward the new government of Russia affords an interesting study to the detached onlooker. For thirty months the "speedy prosecution of the war" party have referred in glowing terms to "our gallant ally, Russia," and a lickspittle Press has given her the necessary puffs periodically. We have in the past heard how she was animated by noble ideals, and so forth, which are akin to all the allies. Now much of it is changed; with the revolution, lo and behold! we are informed that the Tzar was weak—was influenced by the German-born Tzaritzza—the Court corrupt, and those in control were trying to bring about a separate peace with Germany. Strange, is it not, that when previously rumours were in circulation here with regard to a separate peace, the war party repudiated any such intention on the part of "our gallant ally." To-day Parliament and Press are applauding the overthrow of the Tzar and his Government, whom they have been allied with so long, and telegrams of congratulation are sent to the new President of the Duma.

"Motor cars of visitors to Gatwick races recently used about 2,500 gallons of petrol, according to an estimate which is to be brought to the Premier's notice in Parliament on Monday."—"Daily Chronicle," March 24th, 1917. Whether the estimate of the number of gallons of petrol used is correct is a minor matter here. The point of interest to us is: Why are not these people engaged upon work of National Service? Have they not heard the call? Or does it blare forth only for the human cattle, the working class?

On the subject of National Service and the sloppy methods of advertising this department the "Daily Chronicle" (22.3.1917) says: "Why encumber the registers by enrolling ineligible like Lord Rhonda, who has been exhibited as a model volunteer, and use labour in sifting them out?" And again: "The department pours out leaflets and posters by the million, and pays thousands of pounds for advertisements of general appeals, which should be unnecessary after two months publicity." I have wondered what kind of work Lord Rhonda would be suited for, other than that of a decoy.

A letter recently appeared in the Press over the signature of T. E. Naylor, Sec. of the London Society of Compositors, drawing attention to an order issued by Mr. Neville Chamberlain which prevents a man between the ages of 18 and 61 from obtaining employment unless he is enrolled as a National Service "volunteer." Mr. Naylor says:

The Director-General of National Service . . . is surely adding to his burdens in attempting to introduce a form of limited compulsion in this way. There is little reason and less justice in bringing the pressure of starvation to bear upon a man in order to force him, whatever his circumstances in life, to transfer his labour whenever the Employment Exchange chooses to pounce upon him. What about that other class of man who, independent of the necessity of earning his own living, is nevertheless doing nothing for the good of his country? Has Mr. Chamberlain no Order for him?

—"Daily Chronicle," March 21st, 1917.

Mr. Naylor winds up by saying that if this Order is to stand, then he and his friends must "hand back their briefs or be prepared to defend a partial and invidious measure of compulsion." The surprise of these labour blighters at the position their treachery has placed them in is the comic thing of the day. What do they think they have been defending all this time under the name of voluntary service?

THE SCOUT.

IRISH NOTES.

The position of workers in Ireland, with a few particular exceptions, is steadily getting worse. The continual increases in prices, and the growing scarcity of employment, are steadily making working-class conditions more and more intolerable. The spirit of antagonism to the British Government, that pervades Ireland generally, has resulted in a comparatively small proportion of Irishmen joining the Army. As work, in those industries unconnected with the war (and Ireland is doing a very small proportion of war work) is getting slack day by day, both for men and women, and the Army is not drawing off any appreciable percentage of the surplus employees, competition for work becomes more keen, and wages and working conditions are worse proportionately than in peace times. It is a well known fact that the much-vaunted war bonuses (which were only obtained after hard fighting) have in no way compensated for the rise in the cost of living.

Since the outbreak of war another circumstance assisting in the worsening of the position of the workers has been the entrance of fashionable ladies into competition with work girls in industries, and doing so for no pay whatever. The way they blackleg nurses is too notorious to need mention. The cream of the joke appeared to the writers when one of the temporary would-be members of the working class (we don't think) was hauled before a Belfast magistrate recently and charged with driving her motor car at such an excessive speed as to be to the public danger. In her defence she urged that she was late that morning and was hurrying to her work.

The Dublin papers are full of reports as to the general bad conditions, the increasing difficulty of obtaining work, and the low wages of those in employment. The following extracts cast some light on working class conditions prevailing there:

"We have only to remember that investigations made by the Health Department in working-class districts showed that one-third of 436 families whose cases were dealt with have weekly wages of less than 25/-, whilst in the cases of 90 families inquired into by the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the average wage worked out at 22s. 6d., and the average amount available for food, fuel, and clothing was 18s. 1d. How do these people live? The question is asked every day, and nobody can answer it—except the poor people who carry on the struggle."—"Sunday Freeman," 8.4.1917.

The leading article of the "Dublin Evening Telegraph" (9.4.1917) asserts that girl munition workers in Dublin are earning the fabulous salary of 8s. per week—surely a tremendous incentive to pile up the munitions "to ensure the victory of the All lies!"

Dr. Sherlock at a meeting of the Dublin Port and Docks Board, remarked that:

"It was undignified for the prince merchants to haggle about a few shillings in the wages of workmen at a crisis like this, when the cost of living was so dear. He hoped to have an opportunity soon of focussing public attention on the fact that the rate of wages paid in Dublin was a standing disgrace, and a menace to its peace and good order."—"Freeman's Journal," 10.4.1917.

A note in "Irish Opinion" (31.3.1917) also was in the same strain:

"Mr. Duke, the English Chief Secretary for Ireland, stated last week that there were no able bodied men unemployed in Dublin. On Tuesday last a deputation from the Dublin Trades Council waited upon the Corporation to ask their assistance in the matter of providing employment for the great workless army in the metropolis. 'If employment is not given,' said Mr. Thomas Farren, 'there will be bread riots in Dublin very soon,' and the Lord Mayor added that 'he knew also that artisans and labourers were on the verge of starvation owing to lack of employment.' We know it, too. Every citizen of Dublin knows it. No one can pass through the streets of the city without seeing it—seeing thousands of

men and boys looking for work that is not to be found. Even a casual walk through the working-class districts will reveal scenes of poverty and privation that are not only appalling but incredible."

"Freeman's Journal" for 10.4.1917 contains a letter to the Editor on the pay of women field workers from which the following extract is taken:

"If more of our women and girls were engaged in the lighter kinds of field labour it would greatly increase the food supply. At present the wages too commonly offered are so miserable that few care to accept them. A case recently came to my knowledge where a woman was paid for field work, at a place some six miles from Dublin, nine shillings a week, with lodgings, but no board, not even a turnip. It is well known that a present price nine shillings would scarcely buy sufficient food to keep a strong woman engaged in hard work in health for a week. This unfortunate creature saved four shillings for her family in Dublin, but at the cost of starving herself, so that after a couple of weeks she had to return home broken in health."

But soft! this poor woman should not complain, for haven't we all to economise now and help the war? If you don't believe Mick and Mack, pop into Lord Northcliffe's breakfast room any morning and see him breakfasting on a penny kipper and 2 ozs. of maize meal and bean flour tike.

Housing conditions are not the least of Dublin's ills, and have been the theme of romantic discourses by would-be benevolent individuals of all sorts and conditions.

We learn that members of the Dublin Corporation at times make quite a good thing out of dealings relating to slum property.

The way the matter is worked is somewhat as follows. When a government grant is obtained for housing the poor "on account of the lack of habitable dwellings for the masses" ("Dublin Evening Herald," 6.4.1917) a member of the Corporation or a friend of a member, buys up certain property cheap. The Corporation declares the property insanitary, buys it off the owner at a fabulous price, evicts the tenants, rebuild it (perhaps it was the least insanitary property in the neighbourhood) and somebody nets a nice little profit out of it. Money for nothing!

In the "Dublin Evening Herald" (6.4.1917) there was an article dealing with this matter, from which we will quote.

"It is evident that the Corporation Housing Committee are at the old game of slum purchase, and it is imperative on the rent and rate payers of Dublin to be on the alert in order to frustrate the attempt by the Corporation to pay a fabulous portion of the proposed £230,000 which the Treasury may grant on the purchase of rotten bricks and mortar known as 'slum areas' (convenient term.) In the area known as Newfoundland Street (slum), where £27,000 (or £2,196 per acre) is being forced, a strong agitation beat the Housing Committee, but the latter have resorted to the contemptible trick of having it called an 'insanitary area.'"

The Dublin Tenants Association have forwarded a memorial on the matter to the Chief Secretary and other individuals (giving reasons for opposition) some clauses of which read as follows:

"Because 80 per cent. at least of the cottages and houses are structurally sound and in good sanitary condition. . . . Because the demolition of a few courts or lanes, together with a small expenditure on repairs and the proper enforcement of the sanitary laws will be sufficient to transform the whole area into an ideal working-class area. . . . Because the inhabitants have almost unanimously resolved to resist eviction by every lawful means in their power. Finally, because at least one member of the Housing Committee, and also an ex Councillor and Poor Law Guardian, possess large interests there."

What a thieves' kitchen the Council Hall has come to be under capitalism!

MICK AND MACK.

PAST CLASS STRUGGLES.

The whole of the tactics of the International Socialist Party turn upon the knowledge and correct appreciation of the modern class struggle. As has been often pointed out in the columns of this journal, the pitfalls and absurdities into which have fallen the so-called Socialist parties of this and other countries are entirely due to the fact that the members of those parties are almost completely ignorant of the meaning of the class war and are, therefore, at the beck and call of any "revolutionist," or other individual, who desires to make private profit out of their support.

There are many workers who believe that the trade union movement will accomplish all things; there are others who put their faith in various types of reform, such as Land Reform, Food Reform, Electoral Reform, etc. On this account the working class is to be found split up into various factions, fighting each other instead of the real enemy, and all because they have no key, no touchstone, to keep them on the correct road. They are like the traveller floundering in the morass through ignorance of the path across.

As things can only be correctly understood when considered in the light of their origin and growth, whether it be the revolution of the earth round the sun, the form and colour of a plant, or the tastes of men, so, in order to understand and correctly appreciate the significance of the modern class struggle we must study it also in the light of its development.

It is proposed, therefore, to investigate the conditions surrounding some former class struggles in the history of society with the view of drawing conclusions for future guidance. The great importance of the subject warrants the continual traversing of ground previously covered, in order to fix the true position firmly in the minds of our fellow workers.

The necessity of a firm grounding in Socialist knowledge is now more than ever obvious from the waverings of the various "Socialist" parties in the different countries engaged in the present war, our little party being the only one, so far as our information goes, that has, up to the present pursued an unwavering policy and adopted an unflinching attitude. In the first weeks of the war we issued our war manifesto, and we have never withdrawn nor wavered from the attitude there taken up.

In the early development of the human race the associations of men and women were based upon kinship or blood relationship; but the entrance of private property broke up the old tribal communities and substituted the association based upon territory. The subsequent history is that of the struggles of the various sections of society for the social wealth.

The wealth of the communities was commonly owned, but this, in very early times, is saying little, as it generally meant merely their daily subsistence, their weapons, and the skins with which they were clothed. The domestication of animals appears to have first rendered possible the attainment of a surplus of wealth and to have introduced the idea of private property.

The Gens, the centre of the first form of association, was the family, a group of brothers, sisters, etc. A man always married into his wife's group, the children belonging to the gens of the mother. The inheritance of property was therefore through the females, the property always belonging to the gens of the mother. The change in the law of inheritance to the father (the first class struggle) consequent upon the increase of wealth, enabled him to bequeath his property to his children, and gave rise to the possibility of inequality of wealth.

A full and clear idea of the early history of society can be obtained from a careful study of Engels' "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," Lewis H. Morgan's "Ancient Society," and Jenks' "History of Politics."

GREECE.

The first people to play an important individual part upon the stage of history were the Greeks, and the part of Greece where they were most active was Attica.

The first historical view obtained depicts Attica (and for that matter all Greece) covered with small communities, each governed by

accordance with the old tribal regulations founded upon the associations of Gentes (the plural of Gens) and therefore communal property. But although the laws were based upon common property, the communities were composed of units owning varying amounts of wealth as a result of the law of inheritance through the father.

The population consisted of four classes (excluding the slaves, who formed a large part of the population): (1) Landed Proprietors; (2) Dependent Cultivators, by whom the land was tilled; (3) Peasant Farmers, or small, self-working proprietors; (4) the townsmen having no land, but exercising handicrafts, arts, and commerce. The Government was exclusively in the hands of the Landed Proprietors, some of whom, through continual division, had become poor; whilst in the development that ensued the wealth and importance of the small self-working proprietors and the artisans grew and consequently they found the old laws, suitable to common property, irksome, and frequent outbursts were the result.

This state of affairs was further complicated by the general revolt of the poorer population against the rich, resulting from misery combined with oppression. In the words of Grote ("History of Greece"):

The bulk of the population were weighed down by debts and dependence, and driven in large numbers out of a state of freedom into slavery. . . . All the calamitous effects were seen of the old harsh law of debtor and creditor combined with the recognition of slavery as a legitimate status, and of the right of one man to sell himself as well as that of another to buy him. (Vol. 3, p. 311.)

Here, then, was the position: Owing to the tribal conditions kinship operated irrespective of wealth, yet the poor as a body, some of whom belonged to the governing class, were revolting against the rich. At the same time the rich, in the classes excluded from political power, were fighting for a share in the government. The society based upon private property was hampered by the old laws based upon common property.

In the revolts of the poor against the rich the former generally had for their leaders rich men who were in the classes excluded from political power. Just as, in the last century, Cobden and Bright, in fighting for political power on behalf of their class, the capitalist manufacturers, posed as the leaders of the poor against the rich until subsequent history exposed the wolves in sheep's clothing.

Eventually the evils reached such a point and the rebellion of the sufferers became so strong, that the existing laws could no longer be enforced. Such was the condition of affairs that the governing class were eventually compelled to look around for some means of quelling the trouble, and they invoked the aid of one named Solon (an ancient of whom Lloyd George is a caricature) 594 B.C.

Solon was a descendant of the wealthy who had fallen upon evil days, having had to spend his earlier years in trade. As a result, of course, his activities were turned to the advantage of his class, the citizens and small proprietors.

His attention was first directed to the abolition of the old law of debtor and creditor, thus sweeping off the mortgage pillars from the landed properties in Attica and protecting the persons of enslaved or endangered debtors. And next he turned his activities to the enfranchisement of the land and the drawing up of a constitution for future government.

One incident relating to Solon deserves mention because it recalls the recent Marconi dealings of certain people in high places in this country:

Three rich friends of Solon, all men of great family in the State, having obtained from Solon some previous hint of his designs, profited by it, first to borrow money, and next to make purchases of lands. (Grote, Vol. 3, p. 317.)

By which, needless to say, they added considerably to their wealth.

Solon's repudiation of debts was carried far enough to exonerate the poorer people but no further, and in the words of Grote "is to be vindicated by showing that in no other way could the bonds of government have been held together." (Italics mine.)

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—All communications to A. Jones, 3 Mathew St., Latchmere St., Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spicel-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Mons.

EDMONTON.—C. D. Waller, Sec., a Tower-gardens, Wood Green. Branch meets every Saturday, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

GRAVESEND.—Secy., c/o 2 Milton-rd., Gravesend.

SLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30.

KILBURN.—Communications to H. Keen, 95 Southam-st., N. Kensington, from whom can be ascertained meeting place of Branch.

MANCHESTER.—H. C. Atkin, Sec., 160 Russell-st., Moss Side, Manchester.

MARYLEBONE. Branch meets 2nd Sat. in month at 8, at 82 Lisson-grove, W. Communications to Sec. at 193 Gray's Inn-rd., W.

NOTTINGHAM.

PECKHAM.—All communications to the Secretary, c/o S. Ray, Newsagent, 293 Rye Lane, Peckham.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 28 Christchurch-rd., Southend-on-Sea. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Sundays 10.30 a.m. at "Liberty," 6 Hermitage-rd., Westcliff-on-Sea.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—All communications to Secretary, at 10a, Farleigh-rd., where Branch meets every Monday, 8.15.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlia-rd, Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Secy., 107 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 450, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 10 Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

The sum total of the results, then, achieved through the instrumentality of Solon were the alteration of the laws to conform to the mercantile development.

There were still rich and poor, but all the rich participated in political power whilst all the poor were excluded.

The old classification into gentes, tribes, etc. was superseded by the classification into classes according to the amount of property, the first or richest class taking to itself the functions of government. The fourth or poorest class, comprising the vast majority of the population, was entirely excluded from the franchise.

The later development of Greece, owing to commercial advance, necessitated further modifications in the classifications, but they always continued to rest upon the private property basis.

H. GILMAC.

(To be Continued.)

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

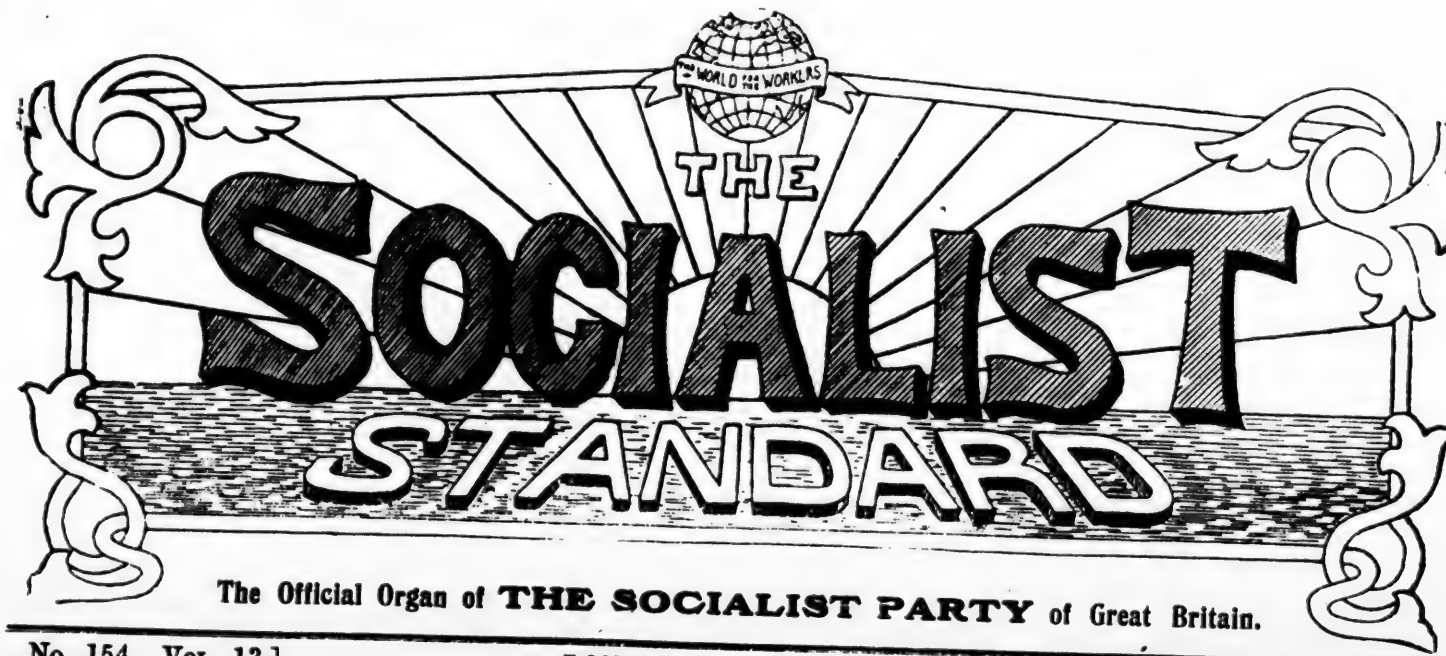
OF THE

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DAD TELLS SONNY.

THE TALE OF THE TWELVE.

"An inquisitive child soon demonstrates the shallowness of a parent's knowledge."
—SOMEONE OR OTHER.

"What are you reading, Dad?"
"Just a pamphlet some kind-hearted, benevolent soul has left for my enlightenment, my son."
"And what does the design at the top mean with the two large letters N.S. either side?"
"The lady with the angel's wings and the tea tray represents Victory, and the two mystic letters represent quite a number of things."
"Such as—"
"Nettlefold's Screws, Never Sweat, Noodles Swindled—"
"Yes, but, Dad, be serious. What do they say the letters stand for?"
"The heading is National Service, my son."
"And what does that mean?"
"It means, mon enfant, that in punishing the wicked and unspeakable Hun for the unpardonable crime of getting his wack in first, thousands upon thousands of Englishmen have been battered into pulp. Further thousands are required to undergo the same delicate process, the idea being that in the human pulping competition we can just about lick the horrid Hun. The residue will be an 'After the War Problem.' Now then, these potential thousands of sacrifices are at present shivering, with glassy eyes and clammy hands, in whatever shoes they have managed to get into, hoping against hope that Murder will overlook them. This is where N.S. comes in. N.S. will say to the Man in a Small Way, 'put up the shutters, you're unessential.' The Man in a Small Way will say, 'but what about my business? It's essential to me, anyhow.' To which N.S. will answer, 'No Sauce, and No Shirking. Your business, if there's any left after the National Sweatshops, Ltd. have done with it, will be an After the War Problem. Then he and his porter, his ox and his ass, his manservant and his maidservant, are pushed into the service of some big, fat brother, possibly a competitor; or into ploughing, aeroplane construction, quarrying, or other similar soft jobs, for which they are as suitable as a pickaxe is for painting landscapes, the result being that more of the country's youth is made available for gory pulp. See?"
"Yes, Dad. But surely they don't put it like that, do they?"
"Listen! 'Twelve good reasons why every able-bodied man should enrol for National Service.' And then in brackets, 'Read these reasons carefully and see if you can deny any one of them.' So you see, my son, they explicitly invite my opinion. They ask me if I can deny any one of them."
"And can you, Dad?"
"I can, but I'm not going through the whole

dozen for you or anybody else. For one thing life's too precious, and for another it's past your bedtime."
"Oh, come, Dad, don't be mean. Have a go at some of them at any rate."
"Well, number one says the war is reaching its climax. Right! Leave it at that. Number two says victory will mean the preservation of our homes, our lives, our liberties, and all we hold dear, while defeat means the opposite. Now, son, where is Jones the greengrocer's son?"
"You know he was killed at Festubert, Dad."
"And did he join the British Army as a free man?"
"No, Dad! As a conscript. He loathed the Army."
"And what has become of his home?"
"Why, his wife had to sell most of it and go and live with her mother."
"So that his liberty was the first thing to go, his life next, followed by his home and all he held dear."
"Yes, Dad. But supposing the Germans had got over here?"
"Well, son, could much worse have happened to him? And further, mine infant, do you have to deprive a person of liberty before he will fight for it? Take an illustration. Do I first have to undress you in order to make you clothe yourself? Silly, isn't it? Now, son, I could say much more to you under the heading of liberty, but one of the present British liberties is that I mustn't say it. Now for number three. This starts thusly:
"Because—having passed laws to compel men of certain ages to fight—it is the bounden duty . . . of every man to see that the Army and the Navy are provided with everything they need to secure Victory."
"Notice, my little sonlet, there is still some little honour amongst politicians. 'Having passed laws,' or 'The Forces of Fat having passed laws,' or even 'The Government having, etc.' So, for ought that appears to the contrary, we might say, 'Mrs. Northcliffe having passed laws,' or 'The Forces of Fat having passed laws,' it is the bounden duty of every man to do as he is told. Yours not to reason why; yours but to do or die. In happier times we might permit ourselves to style this brazen effrontery, or we might give the faculty of wonder an airing by trying to reconcile the bringing of compulsion into a community revelling in liberty. But, my child, liberty is what you will know when you get older as an abstraction; that is, it has no separate existence. That's why it's so popular in England, where the worship of the non-existent is as old as the hills."
"That is a bit beyond me, Dad, but I suppose

its all right. Now for number four, old chap."
"I told you before I'm not going to waste time on twelve chunks of fatuity when I might be reading Anatole France or sowing parsnip seed."
"What does Anatole France say, Dad?"
"Oh, lots of things. For instance: 'Wars are a hereditary evil and a lascivious return to savage life; they are a criminal puerility.' 'Even now the white races communicate with the black and yellow ones only with the intention of subjecting or massacring them.'
"He doesn't flatter us, Dad, does he?"
"No, son. This sounds prophetic, doesn't it? 'The peace conference of the Hague, convened in the very midst of barbarism, contributed but little towards the maintenance of peace.'"
"When was that written?"
"I don't know, but the volume in which I have it is five years old."
"Hm! I suppose 'in the midst of barbarism' means civilisation as we know it."
"Got it. He says in another place: 'what we call civilisation is nothing else than the present state of our customs and what we call barbarism is the state of the past.'"
"Dad, why are parsons exempted from Army Service?"
"That's nothing to do with Anatole France."
"But doesn't he say something that fits in anywhere?"
"After a search) 'Well I'm jiggered! Listen to this. 'In telling the nations that one must suffer in this world in order to be happy in the next, religious tradition has obtained from them that pitiful resignation to all oppressions and iniquities.'"
"That seems to score a bull's-eye, Dad."
"Yes, pitiful resignation seems to fill the bill, exactly. Remember how the people took Conscription. Now the parsons are booming National Servitude."
"I wonder what Anatole France would say if he had read the 'Twelve Reasons.'"
"I don't know. Possibly, it is his reasonable conversation which mostly frightens us in a madman."
"Dad, why did you say N.S. stood for Nettlefold's Screws?"
"Simply a passing fancy of mine, son. Nettlefold's Screws are useful little articles and have provided several politicians with enough to keep them out of the Union."
"What are they used for, Dad?"
"Oh, lots of purposes. But one use they have invariably."
"And that is?"
"Screwing down corpses."
"Good night, Dad!"
"Good night, son!"

PROSPERO.

IRISH NOTES.

As the Sinn Fein movement appears to be gaining prominence in Ireland and enlisting the sympathies of large numbers of Irish working men, it becomes necessary for Socialists to state clearly and definitely their attitude toward this movement. With this idea in view the following lines have been penned.

The pamphlet entitled "The Sinn Fein Policy," published by the national council of the Sinn Fein movement, lays down their position.

This pamphlet shows clearly that Sinn Fein is the revolt of the Irish commercial class against landlords and the Government that supports the landlords to the detriment of the industrial capitalists. This movement gains its catch-ery and working class support on account of Ireland's peculiar national position. The landlords having been for years mainly English and the governmental powers administered from London, the landlords naturally turned to the Government for support and got it. The position was further complicated by the development of the English capitalists, who were not so foolish as to permit commercial rivalry at their very doors, especially from a country where the standard of living was comparatively low, food being fairly abundant and cheap. Consequently steps were taken to throttle the anticipated rivalry. In the same way when the early English merchants were struggling for control of the carrying trade of the world, all available methods were pressed into use to crush their principal competitors, the Dutch, and the latter eventually went down.

We are not concerned here as to whether those who support the Sinn Fein movement are sincere or not. We are endeavouring to show Irish working men the plain, bald facts of the position, regardless of whether these facts are palatable or not. People's views are, in the main, the product of their particular social environment—they see the world from the point of view of the class into which they are born and with which their interests are bound up. Consequently the members of the small commercial firm (the germ of the large industrial concern) burn with injustice and struggle to break the bonds that interfere with the expansion of their business. They bawl at the tops of their voices for freedom, like their brothers of the 18th century in France, but bye and bye we shall see that the freedom they desire (also like that of their French brethren) is commercial freedom—the liberty to exploit nature and the worker to the fullest extent possible.

We, who are working men, however, should concern ourselves with the bonds that bind us to the wheel of capital—that doom us forever to the toil and sweat of slavery.

In the "Tracts for Irishmen" there is a booklet entitled "Ireland Looks into the Mirror" which describes with some detail Hungary's so-called march to freedom under Louis Kossuth and Francis Deak, and a parallel is drawn between Ireland and Hungary, Irishmen being invited to emulate the Hungarians in their struggle, which has resulted in the "resurrection of Hungary." But what is really the position in Hungary? Free Hungary and Free Italy have meant nothing to the working class of the respective countries. A short time before the Mutual Murdering Association commenced the sanguinary operations in Europe the condition of affairs in Hungary was appalling. The wages were at starvation rate and thousands were actually starving. In Buda-Pesth alone there were 30,000 unemployed; the wages were 6d. to 8d. for a day of 10 to 12 hours, and hundreds were employed at 2d. a day. Truly Free Hungary had brought its workers to a glorious pass! In the issue of our paper that was published at the time were given full details of the position. Now the workers of Hungary, in common with the workers of other countries, are murdering each other for the great god Capital. Evidently one of the benefits conferred upon the working men of Hungary and Italy by their resurrection from oppression has been the opportunity to pour out their blood on behalf of their masters in the struggle for international trade routes and the markets of the world—a truly remarkable privilege!

In case of any doubts arising as to whether we have stated the case correctly in contending that the mainspring of the Sinn Fein movement is the desire for power and expansion on the part of Irish Industrial Capitalists we will give a few quotations from authoritative sources. In the first place we will quote from the pamphlet "The Sinn Fein Policy," to which we have already referred.

With the development of her manufacturing arm will proceed the rise of a national middle class in Ireland and a trained national democracy. (P. 15.)

That the General Council of the Councils should have the country surveyed with a view to the profitable development of its natural resources, and having had the cost and return estimated as accurately as possible, should then invite the Irish-American millionaires to do what, at the St. Patrick's banquet in New York, several professed themselves anxious to do—develop this country industrially. We can offer them 174,000,000 tons of coal, the finest stone in Europe, and an inexhaustible supply of peat to operate on, and we can offer them all the facilities possessed by the County Councils and Rural Councils of Ireland, and the assistance and goodwill of the Irish people in turning our coal, our stone, and the Irish people into gold. They can offer us in return profitable employment for our people, and an enormous increase of strength, socially, politically, and industrially. (P. 17.)

A necessary organisation is an agricultural and manufacturing union—a union of manufacturers and farmers, classes who at the present time, through an extraordinary delusion, are unfriendly to each other, and fail to realise their interdependence. The farmer is indifferent about the industrial revival, failing to realise the increased market an Ireland with a manufacturing arm means to the agriculturist: "the manufacturer is indifferent to the agricultural interest, failing to realise that the extension of agriculture—the extension of tillage—means the extension of the market for his products. (P. 10.)

Through the lack of a mercantile marine we are debarred from our best markets, deprived of our share in the world's carrying trade, and are lost to Europe's interest. We lost sixty years ago one of the greatest opportunities—a share in the China trade, because we had no mercantile navy, and as a consequence the China market knows nothing of our lines, and we procure our tea through England. We lose for the same reason to-day our share in the Indian trade, which would be gladly given us if we only had a marine to work it, and we are losing yearly our share in the European and American trade for the same reason. (P. 18.)

In an excellent letter addressed to the Board of Guardians the Cork Chemical and Drug Co., Ltd., put the issue clearly. It wrote: "It is a comparatively simple matter for English capitalists to crush out their Irish competitors, and we know that this has been too often the fate of Irishmen striving to promote the manufactures of the country, but once the obstacle is removed it is easy enough for them to advance prices, and thus obtain compensation for preliminary losses. It is to this system that we, as Irish manufacturers and large employers of labour, object, but we are always ready to meet the ordinary competition of business, so long as this is conducted on fair lines." Many of the Irish Boards of Guardians have responded to this letter, but, unfortunately, the bulk of the unions have fallen into the net spread by the English ring, and in consequence a very large sum of Irish money, not a penny of which need have passed out of the country, finds its way this year into England's pocket. Under the Sinn Fein policy such a deplorable error could not occur. The action of the Boards would, of course, be a united one, and no possibility would be left as far as they were concerned for a syndicate of unscrupulous English capitalists to crush out the home manufacturer and the home trader.

"The Irishman" of May 12th last refers to the Cork Industrial Development Association under the heading of "A Live Association," and two of the items quoted as evidence of its usefulness are the following:

The Information Bureau of Irish Industries attached to the Association, has been, and still continues to be, availed of by correspondents drawn from all parts of Ireland and Great Britain, and, also, from Continental and American countries, and has, admittedly, resulted in securing for Irish firms orders running into many hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling.

The promotion of Industrial Harmony between employers and workers in Ireland has long been a plank in the Association's platform, and its successful endeavours to effect a satisfactory settlement of the recent disputes in the building trades in Cork City were greatly appreciated by the Cork public.

When an association, like the above has the support of the official Sinn Fein organ it shows plainly what the attitude of the principal people concerned in this movement is toward the Irish working class. The whole of the above quotations prove the truth of our contention. The

continuance of the private property system is the central idea in the movement, and so long as private property remains the miseries that necessarily flow therefrom will remain also and continue to afflict the workers under the Irish Republic.

In the pamphlet from which we have quoted Germany is instanced as the country par excellence to be emulated by Ireland. But to what has industrial development brought Germany? To the dawn of the Social Revolution, some will truly reply. But then that is not the point of view of the publishers of the pamphlet. They are glorifying the pre-war state of Germany. The German peasant, who used to enjoy the fresh air working in the fields with nothing over him but the sky, while his wife spun at the cottage door, is now cooped up in a factory for the greater part of his waking hours, with the grim spectre of unemployment to haunt him for ever and make his life wretched. The once open country is now studded thickly with great factories, ugly industrial towns, and depressing mining districts. As a result of developing her industrial resources Germany has become one of the greatest industrial countries in the world. The German capitalist can put his feet under the mahogany with the capitalists of any nation, whilst the German workers, who toiled in tragic weariness to make these capitalists what they are, can hold their own with the workers of any nation for poverty, misery, and destitution.

The pamphlet in question also dilates largely on the increase of unemployment in Ireland, and the development of its resources through the investment of capital by the American millionaires. Are the Sinn Fein party anxious to see Ireland smothered with the ugly, stifling, sweating factories and mills that already encumber part of the North of Ireland, and another England, Germany, America, and other countries? Is it unemployment Irish workers want, or is it the opportunity to work for themselves instead of working for others who live on the products of their toil? What the Sinn Feiners would have us believe, apparently, is that we want more employers in Ireland.

To sum it all up, the plea of this pamphlet is simply the echo of the plea of the English capitalists in their early struggle for markets. "The more markets we can get the more employment we can give," cried they, and went merrily on their way murdering children from six years of age in their factories and destroying the lives of women and girls in their mines in the benevolent endeavour to give as much employment as possible, and of course, just by the way, rake in as much profit as possible.

The Irish Republic the Sinn Feiners are after is but the counterpart of France and America, where year by year the capitalist sweats dividends out of his helpless workers.

What part can the Irish workers, devoid of capital, take in the Industrial Revival except the toiling part? All these revivals are useless to the worker until he owns the product of his toil, then he will be able to enjoy to the full all the advantages to be obtained. So long as private property is the order of the day it matters little to the propertyless Irish worker (the vast mass of the population) who rules Ireland.

"Agin the British Government," Separation with a King, Lords, and Commons for Ireland (Constitution of 1883), and full liberty to exploit Irish workers, are about the sum total of Sinn Fein. Some are ultra-revolutionary, and will have "no bloomin' king but a republic!"—It is tantamount to the bosses saying they'll exploit you with caps on instead of swanking in with top hats on. Republic or Constitutional Monarchy, it works out the same—the workers are always the bottom dogs.

The writers of these notes are Irish workers who have long since turned a deaf ear to the empty phrases of Nationalism, and they look forward with hopeful eyes to the day when Ireland shall be a land of peace and prosperity—its wealth owned and controlled by its workers—and a harmonious member of the great international Socialist Republic. This object, we claim, is far more worthy of the attention and support of Irish workers than the empty phrases and chimeras of Sinn Fein.

MICK and MACK.

PERVERTED HISTORY.

THE "SOCIALIST" COUNTESS'S TWADDLE EXPOSED.

Little more than half a century has passed since in Japan the Samurai surrendered their privileges into the hands of the Mikado, and with their sacrifice the new Japan was born. . . . Suppose that our aristocracy, as a class, were to emulate the Samurai, that they were to place at the disposal of the State the Mother Earth that belongs to the State by right. They might reasonably accept a moderate recompense, something that would provide for them and their children on the scale of modest living that will become the rule when we begin to meet the price of war. . . . How far fairer it would be for us to recognise and accept the truth and go as the Moors went from Spain, where they too had become an anachronism, though the beauty that made their sojourn remarkable lingers to this day. If we would make the supreme sacrifice of our traditions we could trust the common sense of our countrymen to see that no plutocrats stepped into the place we had vacated; we could make our bargain with the State that it should be the supreme landlord spending the rent to make the lovely countryside at least as valuable to national life as the ugly town. We who came into the high places of Europe with the false halo of conquest would retire from them in the real halo of renunciation, and our act of supreme sacrifice would be a better memorial than the best of us could have hoped to gain.

The above is from an article by the Countess of Warwick which appeared in the "Daily Chronicle" of April 12th, 1917. The article is entitled "We Must Go." The "We" is the "hereditary landowners," to whom the appeal is made to hand over their land to the State, in the interests of greater productivity, and in justice to the workers, who have bled for it.

How the latter can benefit in any way from the proposed surrender of lands is made no clearer by the Countess than by any of the Fabian or I.L.P. treatises on the same subject.

State ownership of land, or, indeed, of any of the means of wealth production, solves no problem for the working class. Only common ownership with democratic control can do that. State ownership, that is, collective ownership by the capitalist class, as with the Post Office, for instance, leaves the workers still wage-slaves. The introduction of labour saving machinery would therefore have the same effect as it has to-day. The Countess, like many another reformer, overlooks this fact, though it should be obvious. She says: "The country has great needs, and if it is to remain solvent the united work of one and all following the latest developments with the most complete equipment will be inevitable."

This policy in the past has resulted in increased unemployment for the working class; its extension, therefore, can only result in greater poverty, arising from still further increased unemployment. State ownership of the land excludes the working class from the soil, except in the capacity of wage-workers. They are mere subjects of exploitation to those who provide with their capital the "most complete equipment," and the rent to be paid to the State for the use of the land.

The fallacy of State ownership, however, has been so often exposed in these columns that we can afford to leave it for the present and deal with the other fallacy contained in the first quotation—that a ruling class has ever in the past renounced, or is likely in the future to renounce, its privileges and power unless compelled to do so by superior force. There is no record in history of a ruling class abdicating in favour of a class weaker than itself. Nor is there any record of a ruling class so imbued with a moral sense of justice and consideration for the class it governed, that it would, knowingly and willingly, sacrifice the meanness of its privileges to assist that class to its emancipation. The ruling class in capitalist society is stronger in its determination to maintain its rule and possesses more powerful weapons than any previous class in history. Its barbarity, as every contest with the workers testifies, equals and its hypocrisy exceeds, that of any previous ruling class.

But, the reader will ask, does not the Countess give actual examples from history where a dominant class voluntarily abdicated? Both

these examples are misrepresentations of the actual facts. Take the case of Japan. In that country the system of society previous to 1868 was similar in its essential features to the Feudal system of European countries. The Samurai were the military class, composed of territorial nobles, called Daimios, and their vassals or retainers. Strictly speaking, however, the term Samurai applied to these latter only. They and their families were kept by the Daimios, or had lands assigned to them for which they drew the rent, as under the Feudal system in Europe. This applied to the Daimios as well, who numbered about 255, and whose incomes varied between 10,000 and 1,027,000 koku of rice per annum.

The revolution that abolished this system was not of the same sanguinary character as the bourgeois revolution in France in 1689, or the English revolution in the time of Charles the First. "The two parties," says Arthur Dacey, "were too unevenly matched for the struggle to become a severe one." Therein lies the secret of its relatively peaceful consummation. The Daimios were between the devil and the deep sea; they submitted to the inevitable—on the best terms they could obtain. They received from the State an annual income equal to one-tenth of their former income, and were relieved of the responsibility of maintaining the Samurai, who were taken over by the Government to form the nucleus of the Army and Navy. Those who held hereditary incomes were given the opportunity to sell their rights to the Government for half cash and half Government bonds.

Unlike the revolution that broke up the Feudal system in Europe, the Japanese revolution was projected, or rather accelerated, from outside the nation. Attempts to establish trading relations by occidental powers, sometimes, as in the American expedition under Commander Perry, involving a display of naval forces, rudely awakened the ruling class from their feudal sleep. The Mikado and his nobles were forced to recognise that they must establish their rule on Western lines, or they would speedily become a vassal State to one or other of the great Powers that, with increasing impatience, knocked at her gates with wares for sale—and with heavy artillery to batter them down if their admittance was long delayed.

In these circumstances the Mikado and his nobles, after consultation, and not without military opposition from some of them, took the only possible course to maintain their independence as a nation. They proceeded to organise the nation on the model of their capitalist neighbours, their first care being to establish a fighting force on land and sea, capable of warning off belligerent intruders and guaranteeing a share in the world's markets to Japanese capitalists.

This action, taken in defence of their independence and based on a compromise or bargain between the nobles and their legitimate ruler, is what the Countess describes as a sacrifice.

So much for the first example quoted by the Socialist (!) Countess; now for the second. The Moors entered Spain in 711 A.D., and in three years had "conquered the whole country, except the almost inaccessible regions of the North-West." The Spaniards, according to their historians, waged almost uninterrupted warfare against them for nearly eight centuries. They gained the upper hand late in the fifteenth century, and then commenced a long period of religious persecution against the Moors, who were finally all converted to Christianity by burning, torturing and other methods approved by the Inquisition.

But their religious opinions were suspected by the clergy under Phillip III, who ordered their expulsion from Spain. "How far fairer it would be for us to recognise the truth and go as the Moors went from Spain, where they too had become an anachronism," says the Countess, as though their going was a voluntary act of abdication.

They went, "about one million of the most industrious inhabitants of Spain," says Buckle, "were hunted like wild beasts. Many were slain as they approached the coast, others were beaten and plundered, and the majority, in the most wretched plight, sailed for Africa. During the passage, the crew, in many of the ships, rose upon them, butchered the men, ravished the

women, and threw the children into the sea. Those who escaped this fate landed on the coast of Barbary, where they were attacked by the Bedouins and many of them put to the sword. Others made their way into the desert, and perished from famine."

The Moors ruled in Spain with the same arrogance that characterises every ruling class. Their rule became "an anachronism" because their power was broken and for no other reason. What childish nonsense, what a wilful perversion of history, to pretend that theirs was a voluntary act of renunciation. Yet it is on statements such as these that capitalist tools, wearing the Phrygian cap and waving the red flag of Socialism, gravely inform the workers that the shuffling, grabbing and hypocritical capitalist class will lead the working class, step by step, to its emancipation.

As in Japan, so in every European country—feudalism succumbed before the revolutionary power of the capitalist class. The fact that a compromise was afterwards effected, by means of which feudal traditions and lineage were preserved, made no difference to the ultimate nature of society. Capital alone had voice. Was it not by means of capital that the wealth-producing class was exploited, and the national exchequer provided with the funds that maintained the fighting forces? Lords and Barons might flaunt their heraldry, but the capitalist built his State on physical force and allotted monarchy and aristocracy their places in the capitalist State. The aristocracy were absorbed; they became capitalists themselves and henceforth their interests were identical with those who had accomplished a revolution against them. For all practical purposes landowners and industrial capitalists form but one class—there is no serious friction between them. They control the executive power in the full determination—rarely expressed because so well understood—to maintain the existing system of society, and neither the prayers of morbid countesses nor the groans of their millions of starving victims will ever shake their resolve.

Only the organised might of the working class can break the power of capitalism and bring emancipation. If the capitalist class were imbued with the moral and sympathetic qualities they profess, the poverty and the toll of lives under their system, even in peace times, should have been sufficient incentive for them to exercise those qualities. Not so, however. Their efforts were always in the opposite direction—how to intensify exploitation.

Even the tragedy and devastation of their latest crime, with all the added misery it brings in its train for the working class, has never once caused the question to be raised—except by the Socialist—"Is not the system itself wrong?"

And let the workers make no mistake, though every capitalist nation took sides and fought to the last man, till every vestige of civilisation were destroyed, the ruling class would never raise that question.

That question must be asked and answered by the working class. At present they are exploited, dragooned, bluffed, trained and educated to the status of wage-slavery. Thus with their intelligence warped, though the largest in numbers, they are the weakest. Let them strip themselves of the capitalist shroud which envelops their minds and they will at once become the strongest class in society. The capitalist class will then lose the opportunity, which they have never shown the slightest inclination to embrace, to win a "halo of renunciation" because working-class emancipation will be accomplished by the working class itself.

F. F.

BOUND VOLUMES OF "THE SOCIALIST STANDARD."

THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD" CAN BE HAD BOUND AS FOLLOWS:

1 year 2s. 6d.	4 years 7s. 0d.
2 years 4s. 0d.	5 years 8s. 0d.
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N.B.—The issues from Sept. 1904 to August 1907 are out of print.

Watch the antics of the pseudo-Socialists

BY THE WAY.

Nearly three years ago now, when the present international slaughter of the world's workers commenced, we were informed that this was the "war to end war." From that time onwards many have iterated the same silly phrase. Many have taken up the cudgels on behalf of the capitalist class and gone out of their way to inform the unwary that this war is different in its origin to past wars, that this time it is in order to put down "Prussianism" that they are called upon to give their services and, if necessary, their lives.

Slowly but surely numbers of our class are beginning to open their eyes and to realise that they have been deceived, and in order to facilitate this larger outlook I propose giving one or two quotations which possibly may help them in their search for truth and knowledge.

From a German source, quoted in a paper the proprietor of which is a keen supporter of the Lloyd Georgian (English-Prussian) Government, we read that General von Stein, Minister of War, said:

I do not entertain the hope that the war will be followed by international peace. So long as the interests of nations conflict there will be wars. The prospects of an eternal peace are not very brilliant just now when two great peoples which hitherto did not think of maintaining large armies are beginning to create them. Consequently after the war it will be our duty to safeguard ourselves and preserve for our descendants what we have fought for.

—"Weekly Dispatch," May 6th, 1917.

In order to obviate the retort that might be put forward by some, that the previous spokesman was a German, and, therefore, what he says does not count, let me adduce the evidence of an Englishman who is a Liberal M.P., and as such must necessarily be possessed of all the virtues. Addressing the Annual General Meeting of the Shareholders in the British Westinghouse Co., Ltd., Mr. J. Annan Bryce said:

It seems to be assumed by some well-meaning people that when peace is declared there will be an end of economic war also, and they deprecate any measures tending to perpetuate it. It is forgotten that this war is as much a war for commercial and industrial as for military domination, and that there were no more enthusiastic advocates of it than the heads of the great German industries and financial establishments. It is forgotten that the military war is only the complement of the economic war which started half a century ago.

Here we have supporters of the holy trinity of Rent, Interest, and Profit, or in other words, defenders of capitalist society, coolly admitting that this war is the result of an antagonism of capitalist interests.

The only war that will end war is the class war. Join, then, with us and assist in waging war for the abolition of classes and winning "The World for the Workers."

An announcement recently appeared in the Press informing the public that "last year the British Board of Film Censors passed for universal exhibition 4,430 subjects and 904 for public exhibition." It was further stated that among the grounds for the rejection of over 500 films were:

- Impersonation of the King.
- Irreverent treatment of death.
- Nude figures.
- Excessively passionate love scenes.
- Scenes purporting to illustrate "night life."
- References to controversial or international politics.
- Antagonistic relations of capital and labour.
- Scenes tending to disparage public characters and to create public alarm.
- Vampire women; the drug habit; white slave traffic.
- Materialisation of the conventional figure of Christ.
- Scenes depicting the realistic horrors of warfare.
- Incidents calculated to afford information to the enemy.
- Incidents having a tendency to disparage our Allies or to disturb friendly relations with them.
- Scenes holding up the King's uniform to contempt or ridicule.
- Propaganda films of German origin.

—"Daily Chronicle," April 3rd, 1917.

How carefully the agents of our masters choose what subjects their slaves shall see when they journey to the picture palace. The references

to the "antagonistic relations of capital and labour" and the "realistic horrors of war" are distinctly good.

A study in directive ability! Engineer for the cows. Mr. J. A. Morris Bew told the West-hampnett Tribunal at Chichester of the case of a farmer who applied to the military authorities for help.

"A man was sent to the farm on Friday night, but he left on Saturday morning."

"He was sent as a cowman, stockman, and milker, and turned out to be an electrical engineer who had never worked on a farm."—"Star," April 10th, 1917. Who said Business as usual?

In aid of soldiers blinded in the war a bazaar was a short time ago held at the Royal Albert Hall. Now functions of this order are not arranged for we wage slaves. No, indeed not! Were we to absent ourselves from work, even on such an occasion as this when royalty were in attendance, doubtless we should be confronted with a notice informing us that in this time of crisis and national emergency it is highly unpatriotic to leave our masters' business and that such a serious dereliction of duty was punishable under the D.O.R.A. And so it came to pass on the appointed day that many of the parasites of society did foregather in order to raise the wind for "our heroes blinded in the war" and whom a grateful country will ne'er forget (?) Now let me quote:

Many Royal ladies are to assist in the selling. Princess Victoria has valuable lace and a wonderful fan worth £30; to offer, Princess Louise will sell Peking loot, coloured glass, a Chinese shawl, and an inland scribble, Princess Beatrice presides over children's garments, while the Princess Royal and her daughter, Princess Maud, will sell lingerie of the most lovely description. The great attraction at the Duchess of Somerset's stall is potatoes.

—"Daily Chronicle," May 7th, 1917.

"Loot," Ikey, my boy, "Loot"! Now "loot," according to the lexicographers is: "booty; plunder; especially such as is taken in a sacked city." If the purveyor of this said "loot" had been the Crown Prince, whose thieving activities we have heard so much about of late, one could understand this reference; but one shudders at the mention of Princess Louise.

The "Daily Chronicle" (8.5.17) had an editorial article on Food Rationing, and towards the close it dealt with the subject of the destruction of the house sparrow, advocated by the Board of Agriculture. By deleting the words "house sparrow" from the sentence and substituting the word "capitalist" we obtain a fine definition of that type of individual. It would then read as follows:

The capitalist is undoubtedly a pest; he has few virtues; he is virtually a parasite on man; like a tree parasite, he purloins much and serves us little; and all the characteristics which he has developed in the course of his denaturalised existence—his harsh voice, his quarrelsome manners, his filthy and untidy nest—mark his degeneration from the standards of true social (text wild-bird) life.

We Socialists claim that the capitalist is unnecessary. To-day we have social production with individual ownership of the means of producing wealth and the product of our toil resulting therefrom. We suggest, therefore, the elimination of this parasite by an intelligent working class understanding its position in society, and working for the complete overthrow of the existing order of things through the conquest of political power, and the conversion of these individually owned means of wealth production into socially owned for the well being of all. Then we can commence the era of peace on earth and goodwill towards men.

The "glories of war": Potatoe queues; sugar queues; margarine queues. The question of sugar is an interesting theme and affords a good object lesson of the methods of our "Business Government." From the Northcliffe organ I culled the following:

In certain shops—"The Evening News" has the name of one where it occurred last night—no sugar fit to eat is sold to any customer who does not buy tea.

A quantity of evil-looking sugar, full of black lumps and not without dirt and straw, is offered to customers who do not want tea.—"Evening News," April 28th, 1917.

One is inclined to ask: Have all the public analysts and local medical officers of health gone to the war? Or is it a case of "one good turn deserves another"?

An event of great importance to the workers recently took place. Bearing in mind the scriptural injunction: "Ye cannot serve both God and Mammon," I observed that that highly democratic organ of the international working class, the "Weekly Dispatch" (29.4.17) vouchsafed the information that a little family gathering took place at Windsor. The touching story is thus told:

Our Labour Ministers have had an opportunity during the week of seeing the King at Windsor Castle *en famille*, and it is gathered that they were delighted at the air of informality which characterised their reception.

It is further added that Mr. George Barnes was also in the company of the elect, and "it is to be regretted that Mr. and Mrs. Henderson were unavoidably prevented from accepting his Majesty's invitation." Strange, is it not, that these gentry who rejoice in the fact that one crowned head (the "Little Father," better known as Bloody Nick) has received the "order of the boot," are overjoyed at being the guests of another monarch. "By their fruits ye shall know them" is the standard for measuring their value to the workers struggling to be free.

The "Dispatch" writer sums up this distasteful incident by adding:

To be quite frank, everyone likes to see the King and Queen moving in an informal circle that includes honest, outspoken John Hodge and straightforward, plain-speaking George Barnes.

The antics of these labour fakirs are excruciatingly funny. In the case of the engineers' strike Hodge refers to "the irresponsible people of about 25," who, tiring of the dilatory methods of the accredited representatives of the union and the Ministry of Munitions, take matters into their own hands in order to force the pace, and he deplores their action, while on the other hand I read:

Typists who earn 20s. a week in Government offices and the National Union of Clerks are grateful to Mr. John Hodge, Labour Minister, for complaining of the low wage.

If all the girls were to decline to work any longer for 20s. a week, said Mr. Hodge at Sheffield, what a powerful lever he would have. It would give him the bludgeon necessary to go to the Treasury.

"I am very glad," said Mr. Herbert H. Elvin, general secretary of the National Union of Clerks, "that Mr. Hodge, as a Minister, has advocated a general strike on the part of women."

—"Evening News," April 28th, 1917.

Here we see John Hodge advocating for the women what he condemns in the case of the men. Will Hodge be proceeded against under some regulation of the Defence of the Realm Act, or is such distinction reserved for "people of about twenty-five," and whose earnings do not yet suffice to support a triple, hodge-podge chin?

The Government have to blame themselves entirely for the chaotic conditions which they have brought into being in the engineering trades. With the deliberate suppression of news from the storm centres, the cutting off from communication of one section of men with those in other parts of the country, the one-sided and meagre reports such as were allowed to be published, all tended to exasperate those concerned. The Munitions Act (Amendment) Bill still before the House, with its purposely ambiguous wording (a common feature of all Bills), also intensified the trouble that was brewing. So complex and incomprehensible is this Bill that the powers that be went to the length of issuing an explanatory poster to reassure the workers that the Bill was not designed to trespass on their hard-won rights as trade unionists, and so on *ad nauseam*.

From newspaper reports it first appears that Dr. Addison refused to recognise the Shop Stewards Committee, which obviously understands the local conditions better than the Central Executive, but afterwards changes his mind

CORRESPONDENCE.

F. A. H. (Leicester).—Taking your points in the order in which you give them we append our criticism.

(1) That social development takes place through the action and re-action of economic and political power.

This question assumes that there is an "economic" power apart from political power, but this assumption is incorrect. Actually "economic" power is a misnomer, and is merely a term for actions of an economic character which take place under the shelter and protection of the political power.

To take a well-known historical instance: It was not until the merchant class—the forerunners of the modern capitalists—had gained a large share of political power that they were able, effectively, to fight against and finally overthrow the feudal rulers.

Fundamentally social development takes place because of the continued discoveries and inventions in the methods of producing and distributing wealth. When these changes reach a certain stage in their growth they come into conflict with the social arrangements and order that were made to suit the older methods. To continue in existence society must alter its form and order, that is, re-adapt itself to the new conditions. Obviously the class whose material interests are bound up with the old methods will endeavour to retain and preserve the old form and order of society, while the class whose interests are connected with the new method will endeavour to bring about a change. The power to make this change—since the institution of private property in the means of life—rests in the control of the political machinery, that is, the machinery under which laws are made and the force raised to carry them out. Hence as Marx says: "Every class struggle is a political struggle," because it is only by obtaining possession of political power that the new rising class can establish the social forms in harmony with the economic changes. History shows this in every change that has taken place in the forms of society since private property was established.

(2) That each developing class takes the line of least resistance, which is to say, of course, that it takes the one that is open to it.

Not until a series of struggles and experiences have shown them the error of various ways do the developing class find the right road—which is really the line of least resistance for the object in view. Over and over again a developing class has been deceived and misled by the ruling class of its day into taking a road quite contrary to its (the developing class's) own interests. How often have the modern working class been misled in this way!

(3) That the difference of the coming revolution from previous ones lies in this, that some measure of political power must first be acquired, and this results from the fact that in the movements which have previously led to revolutions it was not necessary at their inception to visibly deprive the then ruling classes of property, this being effected by the development of the means of production or the property forms themselves.

As shown in the answer to No. 1, the idea in the first portion of the above statement is wholly incorrect, and the reason given in the second portion is equally erroneous. To go back no further than the French Revolution of 1789, the feudal owners were completely dispossessed of their property, which was handed over to the peasants under conditions laid down in the Code Napoleon. When chattel-slavery was abolished in America it meant the confiscation of a huge amount of property—for, of course, the chattel-slave was property in every sense of the word—from the slave owners. And this has been true of every revolution in history.

(4) When the S.P.G.B. is attacked for not defining in detail the method of organisation and procedure, am I right in saying that if their general principles are correct efficient organisation will naturally follow; and to a certain extent the details must be dictated by circumstances yet to arise. Also that their organisation will be, by its very nature, sufficiently pliable to meet all the needs of the revolution?

and agrees to see the Shop Stewards' Committee if they agree to "act in unison with the trade union Executives." Later we are informed that the Ministry of Munitions replied to the engineers' delegates, who were in session at Walworth, that: "We shall be glad, if asked to do so by your Executives, to meet them accompanied by yourselves or by any other body your Executives may desire to bring with them, but we cannot receive you under other circumstances." Then comes the arrest of certain men on a charge of promoting strikes. Commenting on this the "Daily News" of Saturday (19.5.1917) says:

A number of the leaders in the engineers' strike have been arrested, and one more step has been taken by that action on the perilous path down which the Government are being driven. We have never defended this strike. But no one acquainted at all with the circumstances which have led to this dispute, and the real history of how it has been allowed to grow to its present proportions, can doubt where the real responsibility lies for the gloomy prospect with which the whole nation finds itself to-day confronted.

"In respect of most of the men," says the "Morning Post," "they have been irritated and worried by the authorities. The fact is, the Ministry of Munitions have made a sad business of it; and the sooner the Government recognise the fact the better."

Evidently "the fact" has been recognised by the Government at last, and a meeting has taken place at which Ld. George attended and at which what appears to be a temporary peace was arranged.

The Archbishop of Canterbury has authorised special prayers for "God's blessing on the crops and the fruits of the earth in this time of sowing," runs an announcement in the Press. Then follows a passage from the prayer telling the All-knowing that we have some Allies and some ships which the Archbishop wants protected. It is to be hoped that the recording angel has duly noted this petition.

The King has been on tour and at one of the works he visited we are informed in all seriousness that he "clocked on" as if he were an ordinary employee. Doubtless after seeing other people work he "clocked off," and was duly thankful that his lot had been cast in smoother places.

"One of the liveliest and noisiest meetings in Glasgow for many years was that held last night when Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P., Pensions Minister, met with a distinctly hostile reception on the occasion of his addressing his constituents in the Blackfriars Division." ("Daily News," 12.4.17.) The storm in the tea-cup was over this gentleman's reference to "veritable weeds" in the House on the Pensions problem. He now regretted having used the phrase as it seemed to indicate a lack of sympathy on his part.

Mr. Barnes need not worry his guts into fiddle-strings over this matter. Far from indicating a lack of sympathy on his part, his whole handling of the Pensions problem has shown him to be a very sympathetic man—but his sympathy is reserved, not for disabled soldiers, broken in the war, but for those who pay him for it—the blood-reeking masters.

The War Office recently announced its intention of opening two new groups for attestation, the age limit being from 41 to 50 years. A kind of Derby Scheme is thus once again in operation, with the promise of an armlet slightly different in design from that issued in the earlier campaign, for those who hurry along and volunteer. According to figures given in the Press there is quite a large amount of recruitable material. This card waits to see how many respond to the call. What a fine opportunity is now presented to those who a short time ago were dying to enlist were they within the age limit. Having urged the younger men to hasten forth to battle for King and Country, it is now up to them to honour the obligation they were prepared to impose upon others.

"Nine British soldiers are dying every hour."—Gen. Baden-Powell. But, "There are worse things than bloodshed."—Windy Churchill.

THE SCOUT.

"GHOSTS."

—:—

Your answer generally is right, but it may be noted that a real understanding of correct principles is necessary for sound and efficient organisation. Then the direction of such organisation will be retained in the hands of its members, who may vary its details to suit circumstances. —E. C. M.

It is not many years since Henrik Ibsen's "Ghosts" was laughed from the stage. But we are now told that the life of those bygone years rang false; children were born into the shame of Peace, while the men-folk slept in the dull, deep dreams of the quiet of a prosperous world. All were wrapt in politics as shallow as Gladstone, were steadfast to the prudery of Victoria, read the feeblest novels, worshipped academic paintings and German sculpture. Never was an age fitter for the pen of the satirist nor for the reign of a queen without ability. Since it was dead as a doornail a great deal has been written to belittle the Victorian age, but if only we think of the old hostility towards Ibsen's masterpiece we get one of the saddest, one of the gravest comments on the softness of that age it is possible to obtain.

The age demanded Purpose in everything so that in the end ethics became bracketed with art, became almost synonymous with art. This falsity and sentimentality was personified in Ruskin. He instructed the nation in life. He became artistic dictator. Under his powerful influence the picture became a scientific lecture, and the book a biblical homily. Landscape paintings became like naturalists' studies, while innumerable authors set to work to prove that the Lord Jesus had a hand in the fabrication of the primrose and the apple.

Some few did not submit to this vice, this cramp. The spirit of unrest was personified in Whistler. By the excellence of his work combined with the sting and brilliance of his wit he succeeded in lessening the power of the degenerative spirit. In literature the innovating spirit of romance was personified in Oscar Wilde. In painting, then, and in literature the principle of beauty, the principle of charm without Purpose, triumphed over the old principle of Purpose without loveliness.

Definite ethics, precise instructions on how to live, were forgotten in the passions of the new ideals. There was personality and not humanitarianism or science in the new nocturnes and landscapes, while in the new books the question of the divinity of Christ, even of the genesis of primroses, was lost in the fashioning of phrases.

This new movement in England with Wilde, Beardsley, Whistler at its head, with Shelley and Keats and some Frenchmen at its roots, soon became virile, influential, established. Slightly artificial at its birth, it soon added strength to its charm, till at last the pioneers decided to test their influence with the public by the supremely modern "Ghosts." I do not here pretend to give a complete account of the battles of the books and wits of that transitional time, nor do I contend that the one or two masters of art named here were entirely responsible for the staging of "Ghosts." There were many men, who were sick and tired of the old stuff, who worked to further the interests of the new movements. But I do maintain that the revolt of these remarkable men against the straight-laced interests of the Victorian era made possible the production of "Ghosts." The public failed the play. The spirit of the public was not so fine or noble as the spirit of the play. The public, despite years of romantic tuition, was still interested in the theme of the play—in "what it was about." They were still spell-bound by Ruskin and Carlyle and their principle of Purpose. They could not understand that what was purposeless and useless, even that which they might call immoral, might still be beautiful.

Now the play is again staged. The people go in thousands to see it. It is successful, and in consequence we are told that people have become enlightened. People have become nothing of the kind. The play is successful because it has been boomed. It has been boomed by the authorities.

not because it is interesting to them as a wonderful drama, but because, owing to changed conditions, it has become useful as an ethical tract. The truth of the business is that at the time of the first presentation of "Ghosts" in England the masters had no use for it even as a tract. Not understanding the beauty and strength of its art, none of its characteristics appealed to them technically; its gravity and thought, its passion and lucidness, could not be seen by them. The mere theme of it was violent enough, but what Purpose could it serve, what good could it do to a generation nursed among bibles and crinolines?

"Ghosts" deals with the tragedy of inherited diseases. The pitiful condition of the young art student, Oswald Alving, is given with tragic tremendous power, and, although the interest in the theme is secondary to the real interest one should feel in "Ghosts" as a dramatic creation, it undoubtedly appeals very powerfully to anyone who takes even a slight interest in morality. To the utterly inartistic this ethical theme must come like a storm.

Well, it is this ethical thunderstorm that the masters need now. And this is why. Every man is needed for the Army. Yet the military cannot get every man, for thousands are severely suffering with syphilis; other thousands are suffering in varying degrees with this and other venereal diseases. To say thousands is no exaggeration. The numbers are so huge, and the diseases are spreading so rapidly, as to seriously weaken the armed forces. The only ways the authorities can try to stop the plague are by legislation and personal appeal. A bill dealing with these contagious diseases has recently become law; the personal message is being delivered in such dramas as "Damaged Goods" and this "Ghosts."

But be the laws never so stringent, the sorrows of venereal diseases presented in never so pitiful a way, still must this generation pay in pain and anguish for the generations of ignorance that have preceded it. It is useless to try and remedy the damage and wreckage of ignorance, of generations of capitalistic schooling and social conditions, with a couple of dramas, be they the greatest in the world. Dramas are not the palliatives of injustice, they are the tragic or sweet fruit of our lives. A man here and there may appear to change after having witnessed some didactic drama, yet he only alters in so far as his earlier life has prepared him for an acceptance of the play's pronouncements. A development of emotions is what we should expect from plays, only that, and not any change in our ideas. Dramas should be beautiful and useless as music.

So the authorities are quite mistaken again as to the nature of Ibsen's "Ghosts." It is neither an immoral play as they first thought it, nor is it moral as they now think it. It cannot be crushed for being the one, nor exploited as the other. It is almost worthless as a tract for soldiers. It is useless for the authorities to get soldiers with syphilis to go to the playhouse; it would be more remedial, by means of some royal proclamation, to get them to eat spinach.

Poor Ibsen! It would have been better had your poor "Ghosts" rested this while in the shadows of the contumely of its earlier years than be dragged and boomed onto the robbers' stage for so churchy a purpose as preserving army divisions. Still must those wonderful words in that gem of composition be the precious keepsake of the lonely student—at least till social wisdom brings the great reconstruction and brotherhood.

Then will a play be, not a thing like Synge's "Playboy of the Western World" to be hissed at for heterodoxy, or a thing like "Ghosts" to be given prominence as a moral tract, but a thing of beauty only (and both the above plays may be considered as such) to thrill and cheer and inspire those whose liberated minds can grasp the might and sublimity of dramatic construction. Science then will have its own just dominions; the theatre will have its own. When the world is free, when the harvests of the earth are sensibly gathered and distributed, then will the peoples congregate in the theatres for the enjoyment of the artistic presentation of all the beautiful, jubilant and woeful pageants of the world—and that only.

H. M. M.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAY'S INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—All communications to A. Jones, 3 Mathew St., Latchmere St., Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spicel-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Mon.

EDMONTON.—C.D. Waller, Sec., 2 Tower-gardens, Wood Green. Branch meets every Saturday, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

GRAVESEND.—Secy., c/o 1 Milton-rd., Gravesend.

HACKNEY.—Branch meets every Saturday at 8 o'clock at Old Gravel Pit Hall, Valette Street, Hackney, N.E.

SLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30.

KILBURN.—Communications to H. Keen, 95 Southam-st., N. Kensington, from whom can be ascertained meeting place of Branch.

MANCHESTER.—H. C. Atkin, Sec., 160 Russell-st., Moss Side, Manchester.

MARYLEBONE. Branch meets 2nd Sat. in month at 8, at 8a Lisson-grove, W. Communications to Sec. at 193 Gray's Inn-rd., W.

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SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 28 Christchurch-rd., Southend-on-Sea. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Sundays 10.30 a.m. at "Liberty," 6 Hermitage-rd., Westcliff-on-Sea.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—All communications to D. G. Lloyd, 48, Badliar-rd., Walthamstow.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Secy., 107 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 449, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of production, and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

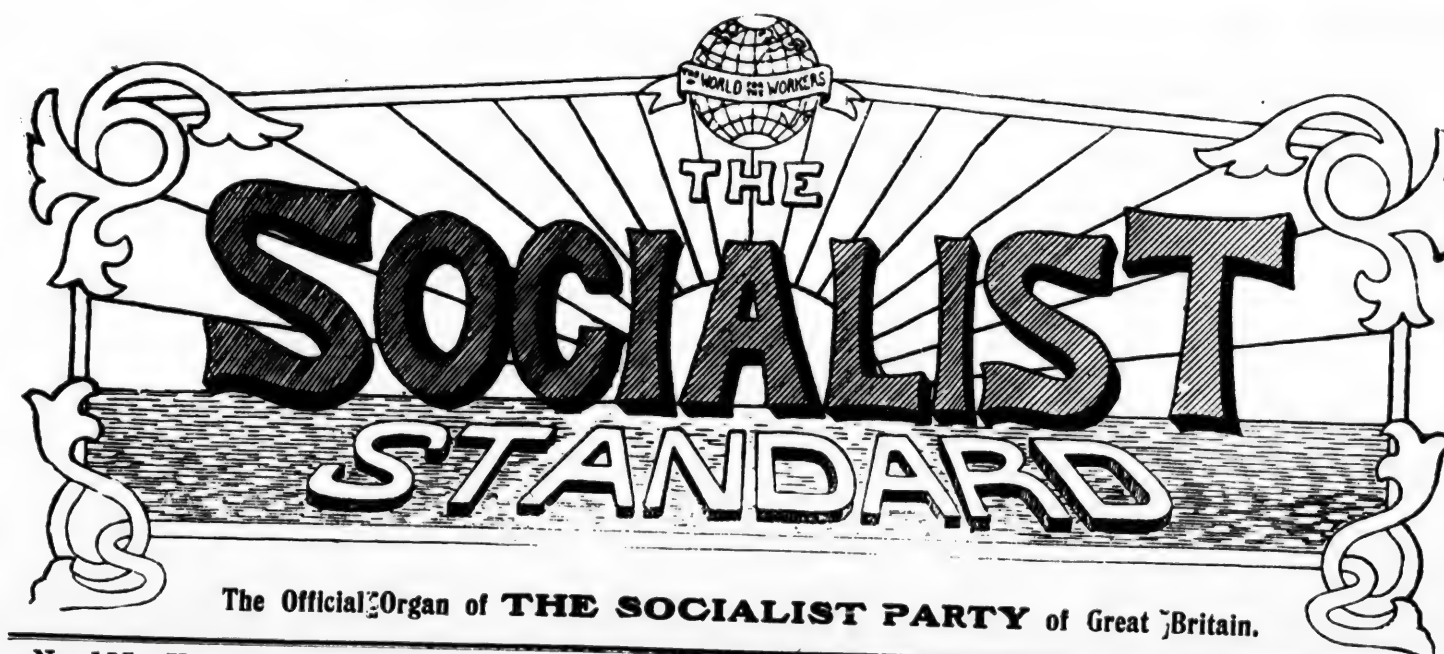
OF THE

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No. 155 Vol. 13]

LONDON, JULY 1917.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY]

THE CAPITALIST VIEW OF THE WORKER.

The era of mere exploitation of workpeople as "hands," scrapping and discarding them when worn out, as if they were mere animals or machinery, has had its day and ought to cease. Such procedure is by no means universal, but it is far too prevalent; and the splendid work of engineering firms is too noble a service to the country to be spoilt by any such inhuman relations.—Sir Oliver Lodge, "Daily Chronicle," 1.2.17.

I hope your readers will not doubt my sincerity when I say that I am out for the game and not for the stakes, and while I admit that I find business a very fascinating game I contend that by increasing the means of subsistence of the people I have in the aggregate contributed more to the material happiness and wellbeing of Welsh colliery workers and their families than have all the miners' leaders combined. . . .—Lord Rhondda, "Daily Chronicle," 7.12.16.

A system which renders it possible for the wage-earners to obtain too easily the money they require for the maintenance of their normal standard of comfort fails to provide a sufficient incentive. Report of "Health of Munition Workers' Committee."

The Labour troubles which are occurring in various engineering centres are most regrettable. There is no real justification for them, and as the real facts get known we hope that the men's minds will cool and that they will resume work. . . . We strongly appeal to the men who are out to resume work on Monday. Their grievances, in so far as they are real, will be remedied. Fears as to what may happen after the war need not haunt them. Apart altogether from the solemn pledges of the Government, which are embodied in Acts of Parliament, the skilled worker may be easy in his mind: his future in this country is absolutely secure.—"Daily Chronicle," leading article, 12.5.17.

One incidental consequence of the state of war has been a considerable decrease in the number of civilian patients, out and in, dependent for treatment on the public hospitals. This decrease is a real decrease, and indicates improved health among the people for whom hospitals exist, and the improvement of health is accounted for by the abundance of food which the military separation allowances have assured to many women and children for the first time.

—"Daily Chronicle," 12.2.17.

The man in the street who may possibly have read the above Press cuttings in their context at the time of their appearance, will probably see no connection between them, nor any purpose that can be served by bringing them together. A brief examination of each item may, however, not only bring out a connection, but even prove instructive.

The kernel of Sir Oliver Lodge's statement is the admission that "exploitation" and "scrapping" goes on. He claims that the much boomed welfare movement will do much to remove them. Exploitation, he says, ought to cease. What is his conception of exploitation? Evidently only a portion of the workers are exploited, in his opinion—possibly the worst paid. He pretends not to see the real facts—that the purchase of labour-power only takes place because in its functioning labour-power

leaves behind a surplus over the price paid for it, i.e., labour-power is bought so that the person in whom it is contained may be exploited.

Lord Rhondda, on the other hand, does not, presumably, believe that such a thing as exploitation exists at all. He claims that he increases the means of subsistence of the people by allowing the said people to work and produce the means of subsistence. The greater the amount of wealth produced, therefore, in any concern, the greater the "material happiness" of the people, irrespective of the wages paid. The essence of his statement is, however, one that is common to all capitalists—that he increases the world's wealth by allowing the workers to use the tools of production and let raw materials of nature.

The report of the Health of Munition Workers' Committee, together with the extract from the "Daily Chronicle" leading article, are both typical of the attitude of capitalists toward the workers everywhere. According to the first the poverty of the working class is ordained. The workers are born poor that their necessities may compel them to serve the capitalists. To ensure a continuance of their toil they must be kept poor—they must not "obtain too easily the money they require for the maintenance of their normal standard of comfort."

This being the attitude of "capital" toward "labour," it is not surprising to find the "Daily Chronicle" lecturing the workers for striking "without justification," hoping "their minds will cool," aspersing them generally, and finally appealing to them to place confidence in the government that has given them such solemn pledges. "Their position in the country is assured after the war," they say. Of course it is—the position that has always been theirs—material for exploitation. As such they are necessary to capitalists; without them surplus-value is unobtainable.

The last quotation is an inadvertent but withering commentary on the capitalist system as a whole. A system that admittedly fails to provide adequate sustenance for women and children except when all its resources are concentrated on destruction and slaughter, is self-condemned. With modern machinery and methods wealth can be produced far in excess of the needs of the people; yet because of capitalism, which stamps labour-power as a commodity, the bulk of the workers are unable, in normal times, to obtain the food necessary to maintain themselves in health. And capitalist newspapers cannot help noting the improvement in the health of the workers when war, with its imperative demand for blood and sinew, absorbs the human commodities that are in excess of the peace-time demand.

And now we can link up the quotations and show how they run like a descriptive serial

portraying the tragedy of working-class slavery. There is little need to refer to the increased sufferings of the working class due to the war. Terrible as these sufferings are, we are reminded by the "Daily Chronicle" that separation allowances have assured to many women and children for the first time abundance of food: an admission that capitalism, in peace time, cannot guarantee to those who produce the wealth of society the necessities of life. Labour-power before the war was so much in excess of the demand that men were too old at forty. After that age they were scarcely worth exploiting, and the system made no provision for them until they were seventy. Because the war has tipped the beam in the labour market, setting the demand for labour-power above the supply, we are told that exploitation and scrapping have had their day. But if wages rose till they stood at ninety-nine per cent. of the total wealth produced exploitation would not have ceased.

Before the workers can expend their energy on the materials supplied by nature, they must submit to capitalist organisation, discipline, and conditions. The wealth they produce belongs to the capitalists, who permit them to be paid out of it the market value of their labour-power—until circumstances connected with the disposal of the wealth produced on the world market bring about changes in the labour market favourable to the worker in the sale of his commodity. Then the boot is on the other foot. It demoralises the workers to earn their living too easily. Although the prices of necessities have more than doubled and wages have risen but slightly over peace-time level; though trade-union safeguards against more vicious exploitation have been removed, strikers are told they have no justification for their action.

Acts of Parliament are passed against those workers who attempt to practice the first right proclaimed by capitalists—the right to withhold a commodity until the price demanded is forthcoming. Then, on top of all the insults and slander directed against the workers, they are coolly asked to put their trust in the representatives of the class that has robbed them—robbed them under the plea of freedom of contract—which is itself cancelled and made illegal when it begins to operate in favour of the workers.

The full story of capitalist exploitation, brutality and duplicity will never be told. But the five quotations given at least reveal the true nature of the system, the degrading conditions of the working class and the contempt in which they are held by their rulers. Such small things as these are but as straws which show the way of the wind, but as straws have their use, so may these trifles have if the workers will only learn.

F. F.

THE MANIFESTO OF THE TO THE PROPOSED

COMRADES,—

Residing as we do under the control of the "democratic" British Government, we are not permitted to send Delegates to the Congress to state our views, present our case, and defend our policy, as we so strongly wished. All the more is this to be regretted as our organisation is the only one in the British Isles that takes its stand upon a definite and avowed Marxian basis and follows a policy logically deduced from that basis.

We hold that the Working Class must march to its emancipation from wage-slavery and the domination of the Capitalist Class, by the conquest of political power. In the British Isles the means wherewith to accomplish this are already in the hands of the workers, as, despite certain anomalies in our franchise, the workers have the overwhelming majority of the votes at their disposal when an election takes place. Hence the great, immediate, and pressing work requiring to be done is the education of the Working Class to an understanding of Socialism—to a realisation of their slavery and the method of their emancipation.

The Working Class are slaves to the Capitalist Class. While the Workers produce all existing wealth by applying their labour-power to the materials provided by Nature, this wealth, and the instruments necessary for its production, along with the great storehouse of Nature's materials—the earth—are owned and controlled by the Master Class under a system of private ownership that necessitates the selling of the bulk of the products upon the markets. But while powers of production increase by leaps and bounds, the markets grow but slowly. Hence the struggles between the various groups of Capitalists for the control of these markets and the routes thereto so that they may dispose of the commodities the wage-slaves have produced. Practically all the wars of the last three centuries, from the struggle against the Dutch and Portuguese in India to the present colossal carnage which is devastating the whole world, have had their essential causes rooted in the demands of the various groups of Capitalists to control these markets and routes.

The Workers' share of these conflicts has been to slaughter each other in their Masters' interests, to find a grave if killed, or to be offered the degrading and comfortless shelter of the workhouse if disabled or maimed. The hardship, misery, want, and suffering following these wars fall always upon the Working Class. Thousands of cripples and tens of thousands of men with constitutions ruined by military service will feel the horrors of the struggle for existence with tenfold bitterness after the war. In the midst of the conflict the Pensions Minister, Mr. G. N. Barnes—a member of the I.L.P. and of the "Labour Party," and "Labour" Member of Parliament for Blackfriars Division of Glasgow—has admitted that over 100,000 men have been discharged from the British Army as medically unfit for Service without allowance or pension of any kind. To soothe the ruffled feelings of these unfortunate victims of capitalist brutality this so-called representative of the Workers said:

"It has been claimed that these men should be put on pension . . . inasmuch as the doctors have passed them in . . . I want to say that they will not get it while I am in the office."—Official Report, col. 254, March 6th, 1917.

No matter which group of the Masters win the struggle, the Workers remain enslaved. The division of interests is not between the peoples of the world, but between the classes—the Master Class and the Working Class. Not, therefore, in their fellow Workers abroad, but in the Master Class at home and abroad, are the working-class enemies found.

What interest have the Workers, then, in either starting or carrying on war for their masters? Absolutely none.

Every Socialist must, therefore, wish to see peace established at once to save further maiming and slaughter of our fellow Workers. All those who on any pretext, or for any supposed reason, wish the war to continue, at once stamp themselves as anti-Socialist, anti-working class, and pro-capitalist.

Moreover, where the Working Class have the necessary means—the franchise—for their emancipation within their grasp it is clearly an anti-Socialist and treacherous act to urge them to use those means for the purpose of placing political power in the hands of the masters. The flimsy excuses so often used to cover up such acts of treachery to the Working Class merely add evidence to support the truth of this statement.

Applying these tests of real understanding of Socialist principle and correct action to the organisations in this country claiming to be Socialist, we find all of them except the Socialist Party of Great Britain failing to stand that test. The Fabian Society, with Mr. Bernard Shaw and Mr. Sidney Webb at its head, merely wishes for an extension of the Civil Service system under the control of a bureaucracy, and is opposed to the Workers being emancipated from their slavery. In addition to supporting the carrying on of the war, both the society and its individual members readily support the return of Liberal Capitalists to Parliament.

The so-called Independent Labour Party is ready at all times to make political bargains with the Capitalists and to urge the Workers to place power in the hands of the masters. Thus Mr. Ramsay MacDonald at Leicester, Mr. Philip Snowden at Blackburn, Mr. F. Jowett at Bradford, Mr. James Parker at Halifax, Mr. G. H. Roberts at Norwich, Mr. G. N. Barnes at Glasgow, and Mr. Clynes at N.E. Manchester all owe their seats in Parliament to bargains made with the Liberals, in return for which they gave their support to Liberals in these and other constituencies. While protesting—in some forms—against the war, and now urging "Peace by negotiation," the I.L.P. allowed its members like Mr. Parker and Mr. Clynes to assist in the recruiting campaign.

In a letter sent to his constituency on 11th September, 1914, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said:

"I want the serious men of the trade unions, the brotherhoods and similar movements, to face their duty. To such it is enough to say 'England has need of you' and to say it in the right way.

"They will gather to her aid; they will protect her."—"Daily Chronicle," September 9th, 1914.

In the Merthyr "Pioneer" for 27th November, 1914, the late Mr. Keir Hardie, another I.L.P. Member of Parliament, said:

"I have never said or written anything to dissuade our young men from enlisting. I know too well all there is at stake."

How is all this different from assisting in carrying on the war? How clearly it shows the treachery of the I.L.P. leaders and Members of Parliament!

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

Moreover, the I.L.P. has allowed its members to accept office in a Capitalist government without making any protest or repudiation. It is true that their 1917 Conference passed a resolution dissociating the organisation from Mr. Parker's action in taking a Government office, but not only is Mr. Parker allowed to remain a member of the I.L.P., but no protest at all is made when other members, as Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Barnes, and Mr. Roberts, accept office under similar conditions. While protesting against German Social-Democrats voting war credits in the Reichstag, I.L.P. members have steadily voted for war credits here.

The claim of the I.L.P. to be a Socialist organisation is fully repudiated by the actions of its members, of which the above are but examples.

The British Socialist Party has been just as ready—if with less success—to try and enter into arrangements with the Capitalist parties for seats and offices. At General Elections they have shown their impartiality by advising the Workers to vote for Capitalist candidates of the Tory brand in some constituencies—as South Hackney, Norfolk, etc.—and for Capitalist candidates of the Liberal type in other constituencies. The one M.P. who until recently was a member of the B.S.P.—Mr. W. Thorne—owes his seat to the Liberals and Tories in West Ham combining to make him a present of that constituency. In the early days of the war he, with Mr. Hyndman, Mr. Hunter Watts, and others, took a prominent part in the recruiting campaign, calling upon the Workers of Great Britain to take up arms for the slaughter of their fellow Workers on the Continent, although Mr. Hyndman admitted that whichever side won the Workers would not benefit a single jot. Just lately Mr. W. Thorne has returned from a trip to Russia, taken, along with Mr. O'Grady and Mr. W. Sanders, on behalf of the British Capitalists, to persuade the Russian Workers to continue the war on the Eastern side.

In the ranks of the B.S.P. a division of opinion has developed, resulting, after a struggle between the two sections, in the secession of the defenders of the war—Hyndman, Hunter Watts, Lee, Irving, and the rest—and the formation by the secessionists, of the National Socialist Party. The absurdity of the title is balanced by the merit it has of showing how completely pro-Capitalist and anti-Socialist these individuals are.

The B.S.P. has now joined hands with the I.L.P. in a so-called peace propaganda, but the confusion and double-dealing lying behind this movement is shown most glaringly by the fact that both these organisations remain affiliated to the Labour Party that has wholeheartedly supported the war from its inception.

One of the rewards given for this support was the appointment of Mr. J. Hodge, "Labour" Member for Gorton, as Labour Minister. Within a week of his appointment he tried to show his utility to the masters by threatening to use the powers of the Defence of the Realm Act against the Boilermakers of Birkenhead, who were protesting against the rotten conditions imposed upon them by the employers.

The organisation calling itself the Socialist Labour Party has never understood how the Workers are enslaved, and for years has propagated what it calls Industrial Unionism as the method of emancipation. Its attempts to reconcile this position with its claim to be a political party has led to such confusion in its ranks that when the war broke out it was divided as to whether it should support or oppose it.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN alone takes up the Socialist position here. At the beginning of the war we pointed out the essential factors forming its cause which we have given above, and we have steadily and consistently pressed this view by all the means in our power, and maintained it upon all occasions without change or deviation. Thus we said in the first issue of our official organ to be published after Britain's entry into the war (Sept. 1914):

"THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, . . . whilst placing on record its abhorrence of this latest manifestation of the callous, sordid and mercenary nature of the international capitalist class, and declaring that no interests are at stake justifying the shedding of a single drop of working-class blood, enters its emphatic protest against the brutal and bloody butchery of our brothers of this and other lands, who are being used as food for cannon abroad while suffering and starvation are the lot of their fellows at home.

"Having no quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow workers of all lands the expression of our goodwill and Socialist fraternity . . ."

While in the February 1915 issue we said:

"We . . . declare again that there was nothing in the conditions of any country which justified Socialists voluntarily supporting either side in the war, and record our condemnation of such action as a betrayal of Socialist principles arising from lack of political knowledge and unsound political organisation."

So, with our own hands clean and our every action in accord with the CLASS struggle and the solidarity of the interest of the Working Class the world over, we bring before the international proletariat our DEMAND FOR PEACE without any change of attitude or re-adjustment of policy. We stand for PEACE without reference to terms, since the fruits of capitalist war are the Masters', and only the pains and penalties thereof the Workers'.

The grim humour of the claim that Britain is fighting to "crush Prussian Militarism" is clearly shown by the fact that a Bill is being passed through the liberty-loving, democratic British Parliament establishing "Militarism" in a far worse form than either the present Prussian or the late Russian rulers ever attempted. Men who have crossed the seas because they refuse to accept military service are to be forced into the army of the "allied" country they may be in or brought back to serve in the army here!

To the Socialists of other countries we extend our fraternal greetings. As soon as conditions will permit us to do so we shall endeavour to join forces with our Comrades for the purpose of establishing a Socialist International Congress where Socialist policies shall be decided, where misleaders and tricksters who use the name and fame of Socialism will be exposed and denounced, where the message of Socialism will be sent forth to the toilers of all countries in clear and unmistakable terms, where the gage of battle against the Capitalist Class will be thrown down to the clarion call:

"WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS; YOU HAVE A WORLD TO WIN."

**THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

26th June, 1917.

193 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.

RUSSIA AND OURSELVES.

The situation created by the Russian Revolution is in many respects not without its humorous side. Hailed at first by the British Government as the "glorious deliverance of the Russian peoples," the B.G. now takes up the "wait and see" stand with an occasional transition to the "come back all I have said"—both eyes being meanwhile centred on the Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Deputies.

The maniacal ravings of the labour crooks, too, along with the quite-understood activities of the B.S.P., the I.L.P., and the rest, towards the Russian worker, is not without a touch of real humour. Each and all are tumbling over themselves in their efforts to advise the Russian how to make the best use of his diplomatic opportunity. The situation resembles, in some ways, that good time when the "Daily Herald" League sent Tom Mann to South Africa, during the period of the farical strike, to teach the working class there the real art of economic organisation. It was just another example of the pupil knowing more than the teacher, with a simple reminder that it was sheer impudence that prompted the sending of Tom Mann.

Let it be said at once, the Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Deputies requires no advice from the Labour recruiting sergeants on this side of the water. We of the Socialist Party of Great Britain make it plain that we are not prepared to congratulate the Russian peasant upon assisting the Russian capitalist class to a more complete dominance. True, the workers there, through the temporary dislocation of affairs, have seized certain advantages. True, also, it is, that the declaration "no annexations, no indemnities," is a staggering blow for the Allied aims, yet we ourselves are not going into hysterics regarding it. Certainly we are not to be found crying peace talk along with those who, like Phillip Snowden and J. Ramsay MacDonald, have never ceased to vote war credits during nearly three years of mad, murderous slaughter.

Just how low down and dispicable the part played by the labour crooks has been shown by the following gem mouthed at the Leeds managerie by one of the chosen Stockholm candidates:

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, moving the resolution hailing the Russian revolution, regretted that when war broke out British democracy had not kept hold of the situation.—"Daily Express," 1.6.17.

That the workers here were never in a position to resist the starting of the war chariots the merest child must know, but Ramsay Mac. took particular care that they never would stop them if it lay within the power of him and his party to prevent it.

The action of the labour leaders at the Trades Union Congress at Bristol in 1915, in crushingly voting down a resolution of censure for not having secured some sort of guarantee from the Government that adequate compensation would be provided for the disabled and the dependents of those losing their lives in the war proves conclusively how beautifully the labour fakery helped the workers to "keep hold of the situation" in the early days of the conflict. The activity of such people in mouthing peace talk just now is consistent with the laudable desire to "get right" with the war-sick Tommies, whose trade union contributions keep them in fat jobs, ere those war-sick Tommies return to make a few enquiries.

That we have due justification for refusing to slap the Russian on the back, with expressions of sickly sentiment, congratulating him upon having achieved his emancipation (sic!) is clearly shown by the fact that the Council of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies despatched a congratulatory message to the Leeds conference in which an invitation to Stockholm was embodied.

Despite the dearth of news from Petrograd and other centres we are in a position to know that the Russian capitalist class still hold the field, both economically and politically. If it were not so, then M. Kerensky, clearly an agent of the Russian ruling class, would have been removed long ago. Indeed, his election could

never have been even mooted by the victorious proletariat.

Signs are not wanting that the workers out there are already losing strength, as the following words issued in manifesto form by the Council of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies to the Commander of German troops on the Russian front in reply to the pourparlers with a view to concluding peace, bear witness:

He has forgotten that Russia knows that the overthrow of her Allies would mean the overthrow of Russia and the end of her political liberty.—"Daily Chronicle," 10.6.17.

Such words are hardly indicative of class-consciousness and form strong contrast to the much-lauded "no annexation, no indemnity" pronouncement.

When, too, it is pointed out that just prior to the issuing of this statement a meeting of the self-same deputies had stood up and vociferously cheered M. Kerensky, the new figurehead of Russian oppression, it will become increasingly apparent that in giving trust to such a body the Russian worker is relying upon the proverbial broken reed.

Small wonder, then, that the labour hacks in this country are so anxious to assist in their usual slimy game of confusing working-class minds and conflicting vital issues.

If proof should be wanted of Kerensky's little game—and, needless to say, he has been pointed to as a genuine Socialist by the prostitute Press—it is contained in the following extract from an Order of the Day issued by the wily Minister of War to the Russian troops:

Remember that whoever looks behind, stops, or draws back will lose everything. Do not forget that if you defend not the honour, liberty, and dignity of the country your names will be cursed. The will of the people must rid the country and the world of violators and usurpers. Such is the high deed to which I call you.—"Daily News," 28.5.17.

It would appear as though Kerensky's mortal fear lest the wretched soldiers look back is prompted by a dread that his own game might be discovered. The chances are, to, that if he, the Russian soldier stands to lose everything, he will also be losing his chance of a German bullet. Certain it is that enough evidence has been forthcoming to conclusively prove the reluctance of a very large proportion of the Russian Army to continue the senseless slaughter which has transformed the European plains into vast graveyards.

Briefly examining the American intervention one is struck by the similarly black treachery of the labour leaders, such as Gompers and his crowd, to that of our own so-called Socialist parties. They too will adopt the same backing-out moves when peace seems imminent as our gang.

These moves, however, become increasingly difficult as the war drags on, for the age of learning is upon us. Proof of this could hardly be more obvious than the latest proposal of the Government to give sectional enfranchisement to women in order to hide the huge slump in votes that must face the master-class nominees at the elections that must follow a declaration of peace. Increasing evidence is forthcoming of the dread of the international capitalist class at the great unrest shown even now, during the carrying through of a great war—an unrest as yet in its infancy, but which is rapidly expanding and will continue to do so.

Capitalist society is sapping its own strength; it is staggering under the sheer weight of its own exhausting intensity. Mr. Balfour himself declared, in addressing the Canadian Parliament during his recent visit to Canada:

We are convinced there can be only one form of government, whatever it is called, and that is where the ultimate control lies in the hands of the people. We have staked our last dollar on it, and if democracy fails us we shall be bankrupt indeed.—"Common Sense," 9.6.17.

Whether Mr. Balfour does or does not believe that the ultimate control to-day lies in the hands of the people, the present writer is not seriously concerned with. The approaching bankruptcy of his class is as certain as the equinoxes. Meanwhile we of the Socialist Party will continue to fight straight, convinced that when we again face our fellow workers no man will be able to

show that we have falsified, in the slightest particular, the cause we claim to uphold.

Let us not, therefore, be deluded into beliefs concerning the new Russian Constitution which we know to be fallacious. The Russian workers are still the bottom dogs, while the capitalists of Russia are still basking in luxury and idleness. A few more weeks and the dupes of the Russian financiers will lapse once more into their wonted miserable condition.

Only through class-conscious organisation on political lines can the Russian proletariat emerge from their long-endured bondage. In this they resemble the workers of all other countries, and to the work of education necessary to achieve such organisation I commend all Russian Socialists. B. B. B.

THE BLIND DIRECTING THE BLIND.

We are so often told how naughty we are because we so bitterly oppose the pseudo-Socialist parties that we feel doubly pleased when such organisations readily themselves hand us the weapon wherewith we smite them. The following extract from the organ of the Socialist Labour Party, an organisation which for months past has tried to explain how very much alone it has been in defining the true Socialist position in its relation to the war, is distinctly good when compared with its companion of earlier date. It reads as follows:

LOOKING FOR A POLICY.

What with capitalist development and the S.L.P. propaganda, the I.L.P. has a painful feeling that it has been on the wrong track. That the I.L.P. has decided to re-examine its policy at the forthcoming Summer School deserves nothing but praise; and we wish it every success. The S.L.P. sends its best wishes.—"The Socialist," June 1917.

That the I.L.P. is on the wrong number after 25 years of shouting is a sad thing indeed—for its supporters. But the idea of the S.L.P. taking upon itself the task of putting its sick relative upon the right track is frankly amusing, as will be seen from the following gem published by the S.L.P. in the same journal in November 1914:

A PERSONAL NOTE.

That there are differences of opinion in the S.L.P. as in other parties, on the question of the war must have been apparent to most readers of "The Socialist." Last month I tried to show what the different views were, but I have not been able to find out what support each side has, consequently I cannot say definitely what the official attitude of the Party is.

Three months after the declaration of war and still ignorant of its attitude toward that colossal butchery of the working class in the interests of their inveterate enemies! Could anything be put more clearly? The attitude of a Socialist party needed no discussion among its members at such a time. A true Socialist party would automatically fall into its only groove, as the S.P.G.B. did. This party did not find it necessary to discuss even for a moment what its attitude should be, or to adopt any other method of getting it defined. The path was made clear, the contingency fully provided for, by its formulated principles, and an examination of the SOCIALIST STANDARD from August 1914 will show conclusively how steadfastly our position has been maintained, and how clearly our attitude of bitter opposition to the present war has been presented to the world. The workers themselves shall be the judge and jury—our position is impregnable. B. B. B.

BOUND VOLUMES OF "THE SOCIALIST STANDARD."

THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD" CAN BE HAD BOUND AS FOLLOWS:

1 year 2s. 6d.	4 years 7s. 0d.
2 years 4s. 0d.	5 years 8s. 0d.
3 years 5s. 6d.	6 years 9s. 6d.

Prices do not include Postage.

N.B.—The issues from Sept. 1904 to August 1907 are out of print.

BY THE WAY.

At the time of writing these paragraphs there has been going on in the daily Press a considerable agitation with regard to the prices of foodstuffs. For a whole week glaring headlines have appeared intimating to all and sundry what the great man of the "Business Government" Lord Rhondda (formerly known as Mr. D. A. Thomas, of the Cambrian Combine) is going to do when he gets into his stride. How these men who are alleged to be the be-all and end-all of great commercial undertakings, possessed of the bump of directive ability and so forth, come and go is indeed pitiful to behold. To mention two only who have recently strutted across the stage and departed, leaving behind them a record of dismal failure, one might cite Lord Devonport and Neville Chamberlain. Other instances will readily suggest themselves to students of current events.

One of the articles of food which plays a very important part in our existence is meat, though, of course, we wage slaves seldom become possessed of the historic "roast beef of old England," our masters considering that the foreign variety suits our tastes, and also our pockets, better. However, to come to the price of this said meat, let me quote:

Lord Inchcape, the chairman of the P. and O. Company, has raised the question of the price of Australian meat in a manner which cannot escape the notice of Lord Rhondda.

In a letter to the "Times" Lord Inchcape states that he is chairman of the company which owns the steamers that bring the frozen meat from Australia and therefore has inside knowledge. The meat is sold in Australia to the British Government at the following prices: beef 17-8d. per lb., mutton 11-8d. per lb.

Under the arrangement made by Mr. Runciman two years ago the shipowners carry this frozen meat to this country at a freight of 1d. per lb. If cost freight, two months' interest, and cost of insurance is added, the meat is delivered on the quay in London at these prices: beef 6-3-8d. per lb., mutton 6-5-8d. per lb.

Mr. George Roberts, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, stated in the House on Wednesday that the landed cost of New Zealand lamb in this country is 8d. per lb.

The price of Colonial lamb in London stores just now varies from 1s. 3-4d. per lb. to 1s. 5-4d. per lb. In small butchers' shops it is more.—"Star," June 22nd, 1917.

Now from the above it will readily be seen that some of our patriotic capitalists are doing a fine thing out of the war. While "our heroes" are bleeding for their masters' country, our Business Government stands idly by looking at the profiteers bleeding the wives of the men at the front, and the remainder of the workers at home. When will the day dawn?

The continual demand for men to keep up the strength of the Army is an additional factor for promoting the development of engineering science. With the taking from industry of men hitherto engaged in peaceful pursuits, an ever-increasing demand is made for what are called "labour-saving" devices. One of the latest of these is a machine for farms, and the claim is put forward that it takes the place of four men. The announcement reads:

I have to-day witnessed a demonstration with a machine capable of doing the work of at least four men, and can be managed by one. It does away with "the man with the muck-rake." There are no heaps to be spread; the distribution is done by one operation.

The machine, which is a British patent, can spread, it is stated, a ten-acre field with manure in almost one-sixth of the time taken by hand labour.—"Daily News," June 9th, 1917.

From the foregoing it would appear that the war after the war will be very much intensified as a result of the advances which are being made in various directions, the case quoted being typical of many. How numbers of men are to regain possession of jobs which they held prior to enlistment, and which were promised them on their return from the field of battle, is an interesting question. It would seem that quite a number of these promises are of the pie-crust order. The scramble for work which is bound sooner or later to take place must inevitably lead to a general worsening of conditions of labour;

and the retention of the means and instruments of wealth production, including these so-called "labour-saving" devices, by the master class will be a curse instead of a power for good to the many. Work, then, for the social ownership of these necessary means of life which when thus owned will ensure more time for rest and recreation to those who use them.

On previous occasions reference has been made to the "patriotic" generosity of the master class. It is no new thing for these profiteers to seek to batten on the misfortunes of their wage-slaves. They are prepared at all times to suck the life-blood of the workers, whether they be men, women, or little children. In the course of debates on Pensions in the House of Commons some of the more honest members have frequently pointed out that the unscrupulous employer is always endeavouring to take advantage of the pension awarded to the discharged soldier in order to obtain his services cheaper than he otherwise would do. Recently I came across an advertisement which will further illustrate the point. It is as follows:

Army, navy, or police pensioners, or men invalided from either service, wanted as warehousemen; wages 30s. to commence; perm., with certain advancement to suitable men. Apply Kearley & Tonge, Ltd., etc.—"Daily Chronicle," June 19th, 1917.

As some people change their names during their lifetime, and working men have a habit of forgetting these facts, let me say at once that the late Sir Hudson Kearley is now Lord Devonport, and was until recently a prominent member of the win-the-war government. Now, it is the firm with which he is connected that issued the advertisement above referred to. Does he think 30s. a week sufficient to exist on in these days of high prices? And what of the specious promises held out to "our heroes" who "kept the Huns from our door"? Verily, the precepts and the practices of our masters are as wide as the poles asunder.

I notice that the Discharged Soldiers and Sailors Association are running a candidate for the Abercromby Division of Liverpool. The other nominee is Lord Stanley, the 22 year old son and heir of Lord Derby. It would be interesting to learn why it is that this "soldier" son of the Secretary of State for War is seeking Parliamentary honours when so many other mothers' only sons are sent to the trenches. Is St. Stephen's so much safer even than the staff headquarters in France or Flanders? And where is the "equality of sacrifice"?

The workers of Abercromby should remember that the present Lord Derby, at the time he was Lord Stanley and Postmaster-General, referred to the Post Office workers as "bloodsuckers" when they were seeking better conditions of employment. And also that in supporting Mr. Hughes, the "soldiers' candidate," they are voting for a continuance of capitalist exploitation and the misery arising therefrom. The only effective means of putting an end to the dirty, mean and despicable practices of the international master class is by understanding Socialism and becoming one in the class-conscious army. When the workers generally have done this and only then, will they be in a position to write "Finis" to the anomalies and injustices which arise from capitalist society, including this manifestation of hostility toward the re-examination of discharged and rejected soldiers.

The loftiness of those noble souls who form the Cabinet and who have recently agreed to grant a general amnesty to the Irish political prisoners is nicely set forth in the terms of the announcement. Mr. Bonar Law said:

The Government, after long and anxious consideration of the position of the Irish political prisoners, have arrived at a decision which it is now my duty to announce. They feel that the governing consideration in the matter is the approaching session of the Convention upon which Irishmen themselves will meet to settle the difficult problem of the future administration of their country.—"Daily News," June 16th, 1917.

One can understand this act of condescension. With the loss of Nationalist seats to the Sinn Feiners and "our" protestations of concern and

filial "affection for smaller nations," the retort is being made in many quarters: What about your attitude toward Ireland? It is said that America desires to see some concern shown for this country as well as for Belgium. And last but not least, it is just possible that by fixing up some kind of Home Rule the Government may be able to extend their recruiting campaign.

Notwithstanding the acts of grace on the part of the Government, a still larger expenditure of lotion will be required to eradicate the nasty taste left in the mouth as a result of the shootings in the early days of 1916.

The tit-bits that appear in the newspapers here regarding Russia and the revolution are of a very contradictory nature. However, some very interesting quotations do occasionally creep into the columns of the Press, as instance the following:

The organ of the Council of Soldiers and Workmen's Deputies, after quoting two English newspapers to the effect that the declaration of the Provisional Government and the pronouncements of the revolutionary leaders show that the Russian peace formula coincides with the British and French war aims, says:

"You are deceiving yourselves, gentlemen, or, rather, you are vainly striving to delude your fellow-countrymen concerning the real policy of the Russian revolution. The revolution will not sacrifice a single soldier to help you repair 'historic injustices' committed against you. What about the 'historic injustices' committed by yourselves and your violent oppression of Ireland, India, Egypt, and innumerable peoples inhabiting all the continents of the world? If you are so anxious for 'justice' that you are prepared, in its name, to send millions of people to the grave, then, gentlemen, begin with yourselves."—"Daily News," May 30th, 1917.

After well chewing this delectable morsel I can quite conceive the need for sending the decoy ducks, Thorne, Henderson & Co., to Petrograd to counteract this rather frank statement of Russian opinion concerning the aspirations of their British and French Allies. Ireland, India, and Egypt! A hit, a palpable hit, my masters!

It is recorded that the meek and lowly Nazarene once said: "A new commandment give I unto you that ye love one another." But I read of a man of cod who came many many centuries after, and who lives on the cross instead of dying on it, that his gospel is one of "tar and feathers." He is a whole hogger for the war, and wants two tribunals set up, one for determining essential businesses and what individuals are essential to those businesses. The scheme is to apply to single men. Those essential, according to this divine, "he would dress up in red and purple so that there would be no doubt that they should stay." He then says:

Every man not so dressed he would make his life such a burden to him that he would get out somehow or somewhere.

The other tribunal to deal with Government departments is to work along somewhat similar lines. Says Dr. Furze, Bishop of Pretoria:

Get everybody exempted who is essential to stay, and as to anyone not essential, give him a week to get to the front or to Pouch (training camp), and if he did not get there in that period, tar and feather him.—"Daily News," May 24th, 1917.

The scheme suggested is worthy of a Christian parson! A mission to clergymen is indeed necessary.

Is this a joke? The Coal Controller recently announced that now is the time to store coal. Lots of four tons may be ordered at a time, but the total tonnage to any one private house from now up to September 30th is not to exceed twenty tons! Twenty hundredweight would be a devil of a lot for most working-class families to pay for, and quite beyond their means of storing.

Mr. Bonar Law a short while ago made reference in the House to the profits of shipping companies during the war. The shipping interest is strongly entrenched in that place, which may possibly account for their unique position. He thus unburdened himself:

As an illustration of what profits shipowners had made, he mentioned that he himself had a few hundreds invested in shipping, and last year he received on his shares a dividend of 47 per cent., which was after excess profits duty had been deducted.

—“Daily News,” May 25th, 1917.

The thought arises in one's mind that, seeing that the shareholders are doing so well, are the seamen and others working on the boats sharing in this increased prosperity, or is their reward only the increased risk of finding a watery grave?

Many strange and incomprehensible things have happened during the last three years in what is called the “war for liberty.” A contributor to the “Daily News” (8.6.1917) who writes under the heading of “Under the Clock” draws attention to a notice which was exhibited at the works of the South Metropolitan Gas Co. Here it is:

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

From and after this date no appointments to or engagements on the Company's permanent or regular staff will be made until the close of the war. When peace is declared applicants for such positions will be required to produce satisfactory evidence of what they have done for their country in her hour of need.

19th August, 1917.

By Order.

The “Daily News” writer says he objects to the last sentence, which suggests an inquisition that no private body ought to undertake. To which I say hear, hear. This is the firm where the employees have the doubtful blessing of a model system of co-partnership.

The present scribe recently came across an announcement that the Scottish burghs were allowing the sale of sterilized tuberculous meat, which was destined for the poor. Really, the poor are a long suffering lot, and one sometimes wonders when they will turn like the proverbial worm. However, to return to our sterilized beef, let me lift the following:

While the Local Government Board is considering whether it will follow the example of Scottish burghs and permit the sale of sterilized meat, it is interesting to note that in a comprehensive report written by Dr. Howarth, Medical Officer of Health, City of London, he says: “In my opinion it would be inadvisable for the Corporation to undertake the sterilization of condemned meat with the object of subsequently selling it to the public.”

“Daily News,” June 1st, 1917.

True, members of our class build decent houses, but most of us live in bug hutches; produce spacious and comfortable railway carriages, but are content to travel strap-hanging; yet, at least, one hopes that our fellow workers will resent partaking of condemned meat which has been sterilized. If there is a shortage why not despatch this aforesaid meat to our old nobility for a change?

We are still being urged to stave off the “German menace” by a more rigid economy of food-stuffs, and we are further informed that the latest key to victory is the kitchen. So to the whole bunch of keys already provided is added the skeleton key. But the way our masters muddle is enough to make the angels weep. Listen to this:

The other afternoon I saw with my own eyes two piled-up lorries of putrid sides of bacon in process of conveyal through Paddington, what time such women of England as happened to be passing (and there were numbers of them) held their noses and did their best to cry “shame!”

—“Daily Sketch,” June 21st, 1917.

When perusing the quotation which follows I thought I was reading an account of how the Germans treat British prisoners. The idea that such was not the case is almost unthinkable to one brought up in Christian England, and who is continually told that we English are clean fighters and love to play the game straight.

Mr. G. Dyce Sharp writes “A story of how officers in charge of British prisoners divert themselves at the prisoners' expense has recently come to my knowledge. The sister of one of the prisoners, who has just heard from him writes: ‘My brother then goes on to speak of the way in which the officer read through their letters, asking inquisitive questions about the writers, jeered and commented upon the contents, and finally tore them up before their

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—All communications to A. Jones, 3 Mathew St., Latchmere St., Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Cottes House, Spicel-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Mons.

EDMONTON.—C. D. Waller, Sec., 2 Tower-gardens, Wood Green. Branch meets every Saturday, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

GRAVESEND.—Secy., c/o 2 Milton-rd., Gravesend.

HACKNEY.—Branch meets every Saturday at 8 o'clock at Old Gravel Pit Hall, Valette Street, Hackney, N.E.

SLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30.

KILBURN.—Communications to H. Keen, 95 Southam-st., N. Kensington, from whom can be ascertained meeting place of Branch.

MANCHESTER.—H. C. Atkin, Sec., 460 Russell-st. Moss Side, Manchester.

MARLBORNE. Branch meets 2nd Sat. in month at 8, at 82 Lisson-grove, W. Communications to Sec. at 193 Gray's Inn-rd., W.

NOTTINGHAM.

PECKHAM.—All communications to the Secretary, c/o S. Ray, Newsagent and Tobacconist, 6, Philip Road, Peckham.

SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 5 Wellington Ave. Westcliffe-on-Sea. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Sundays 10.30 a.m. at “Liberty,” 6 Hermitage-rd., Westcliffe-on-Sea.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—All communications to D. G. Lloyd, 48, Badliess-rd., Walthamstow.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Secy., 107 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 469, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 10 Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

eyes. He thought it such good fun that he took a fellow officer to enjoy it with him. These were English officers at an English barracks, and the prisoners in question were conscientious objectors.”

—“Star,” June 22nd, 1917.

English militarism is on all fours with the Prussian variety.

The urgent need for men for the Army, which we are again hearing a lot about, reminds us that there are quite a considerable number of sky pilots, or gentlemen of the cloth, who are firm believers in the righteousness of “our” cause and who are skulking around. Might I suggest a comb-out of the clerical profession, beginning with my Lord Bishop of London, who, I notice, recently explained in Hyde Park that the procession he had led thitherward was not a pacifist one. He further stated that there were no more mistaken people than the conscientious objectors. “He had studied the Bible far more than they had, and his conscience was absolutely at peace as day by day he prayed for victory in the great cause.” (“Daily News,” June 11th, 1917.) How this divine is able to make so sweeping a statement one is at a loss to understand. His bald assertion that he has studied the Bible more than the objectors or I have cuts no ice. Then why is he so arrogant? Has the mantle of the Pope fallen on his shoulders?

THE SQUAT.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

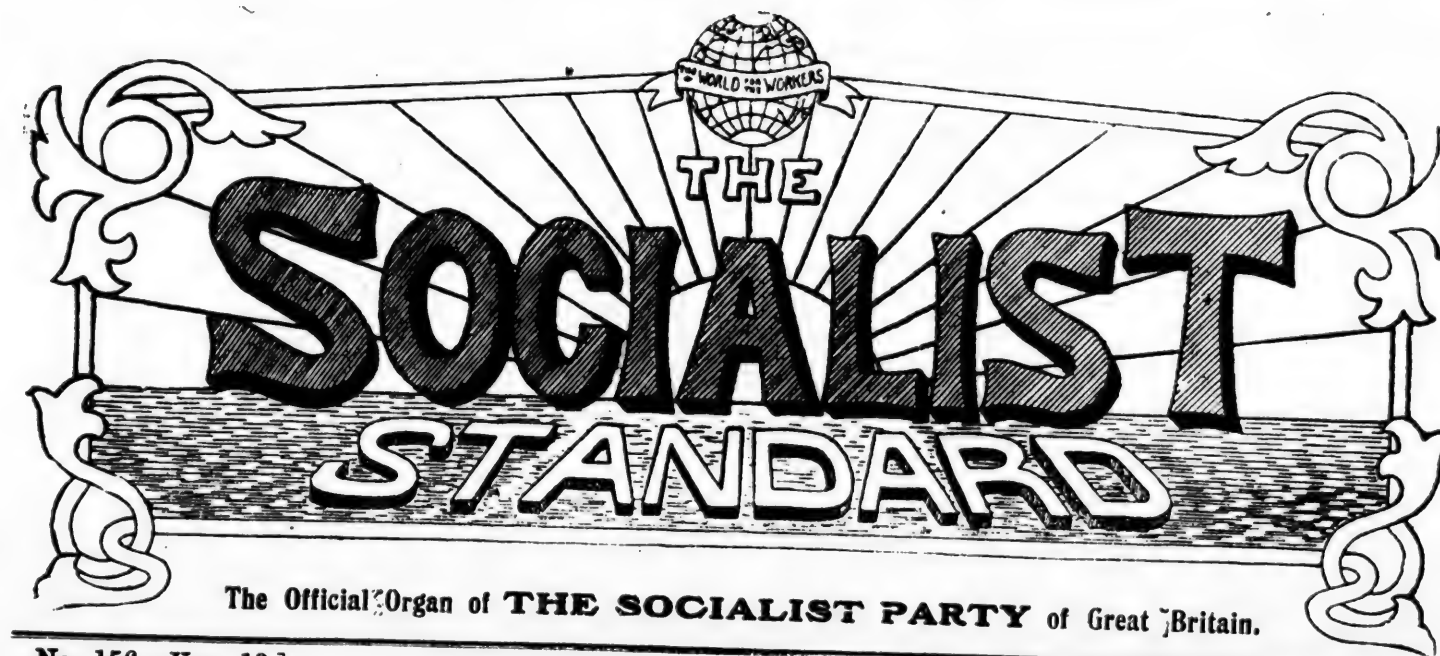
OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Fifth Edition with preface.

Explains the Party's position toward the S.D.P., I.L.P., Fabian Society, Trade Unions, S.L.P., etc.

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[MONTHLY, ONE PENN]

SOCIALISM AND PSYCHOLOGY. A MATERIALIST ON THE HUMAN MIND.

To the average man the mind is a wonderful phenomenon, something that is past his understanding. Memory, judgment, imagination, and thought are to him miracles. He makes no attempt to study them because they are of the essence of his being, which to him is an unsolvable mystery. But to the scientist the mind is no more of a mystery than are other natural phenomena quite easily understood by the average man.

The scientist is so familiar with the brain—the seat of the mind—that he can mark off to a certain extent those regions that receive the different impressions from the external world, as by sight, smell, hearing, etc. By a close study of healthy and unhealthy minds he has learned the actual regions of the brain that are responsible for memory, judgment, and reason. He can remove a portion of the brain and foretell what faculty will be affected as a consequence.

To the scientist the brain is a physiological organ which he studies in exactly the same way as he studies other organs or phenomena; that is, by observation, hypothesis, and experiment. The hypothesis is deduced from the facts observed, and the experiment either justifies it, disproves it, or brings to light new facts which modify it.

Every organ of the body (with the exception of those atrophied through disuse) has its function. The function of the heart is circulation, that of the stomach is digestion, and those of the brain nervous co-ordination and thought. If food is lacking or poor, digestion is stopped or impaired. If blood does not flow back to the heart the function of the latter ceases. The brain, without a variety of impressions, which it receives from outside itself, would have nothing on which to think but the fact of its own existence.

The physical make-up of the individual, together with his environment, is the material on which the brain functions, and, apart from the mere physiological process, weaves that intangible thing, the mind. But the minds of no two living beings are exactly alike; moreover, the mind of every individual undergoes change with his growth. His material surroundings, his physical and social environment, in their perpetual panorama of transformation, changes his mind from the unconscious ego of the embryonic stage up to that degree of intelligence and culture made possible by the stage of social development reached.

The mind is built up by a multitude of impressions and ideas imprinted upon the brain by the material world with which it comes into contact through the senses. It cannot pick and choose the materials for its own construction. It is in no sense free because its material surroundings, its social status, and its inherited constitution determine its line of development.

Spiritual fakirs advise the workers to dwell

on the glories of a future state; but that is asking them to dream of a life worth living and disregard the possibilities of the only life they will ever know. It is no consolation to be able to dream of heavenly or earthly paradises in the midst of conditions that seem worse by contrast each time we awake. The evangelist from the South Wales coal pit may break out into exotic perspiration in his efforts to conjure up in his mind the spirit forms that priestly suggestion has convinced him make spirit music in the ethereal blue. But when he comes out of his trance, like a toper out of his bleary sleep, the sordid conditions of his existence reassert themselves, and his mind is once more an agglomeration of the details of mine and slum, where all his time is spent. Even in its ecstatic flight his mind is not free: he only visualised the hypnotic suggestion of his master's tool.

We are told that there is a far wider difference between a prominent scientist and the lowest savage than there is between the last named and the highest of the animals. But the scientist owes his mental superiority to society. The material comforts and necessities of his everyday life, together with the materials that form the subject of his investigation and experiment, and which give him the opportunity for mental development, are all supplied by the working class. It is an open question whether a colossal intellect is worth striving for, but either way the worker gets no opportunity to reach it. A fully developed mind is as far beyond his attainment as a well-nourished body. But the lack of opportunity to emulate the intellectual achievements of Darwin or Huxley is a flippant irony that shows up fantastically on a background of tragedy.

For while the worker supplies the materials for the mental development of the scientist, and the whole of the ruling class with wealth that permits them to revel in a cultured and sensuous mentality, his mind, besides being imprisoned in an environment of endless toil and want, is stunted for lack of mental food, and artificially twisted into a shape that coincides with capitalist interests, by a huge army of religious fakirs and tricksters. A rational mental development is beyond the reach of the vast majority of the workers, and a healthy, vigorous mind is a comparative rarity.

Take the case of the machine-minder, or the worker constantly performing one operation in a series necessary to the production of an article. Thousands of times in a day he will press a lever or turn a crank, always with the same result as regards the industrial process; always the same impression stamped on his brain. By constant repetition he works automatically, becoming every day more machine-like in his movements and thoughts. Tiring his mind daily without developing it, he becomes incapable of reason or consecutive thought. His mind,

dominated by the machine, has taken over its qualities and become part of the industrial process that pours all wealth into the lap of the ruling class and leaves him—who once possessed a human mind with endless possibilities of development—a skull with vacant eyes staring outwards, and a vibrant clang repeating itself incessantly inside. He is without even a desire for change because it might make thought necessary, and thought is painful to the undeveloped mind.

To the reader it may appear that an extreme case has been chosen and the most made of it, and that the vast majority of workers are infinitely better. But is it so? A little observation among friends and acquaintances will quickly show the material that enters into the average worker's mind. His conversation is the key to his mind. What is his most serious topic of conversation? Work. Not one in a hundred can talk intelligently on any other subject. Neither is it work in general that is talked about, but only the experiences and troubles of the individual. Whether he is in the factory or the tap-room the one thing that sways and dominates his mind is his job, the inability of his foreman, the jealousy of his mates, or his own quickness or ingenuity. Work is the all-absorbing topic of the bulk of the workers; behind all this talk is the working-class mind, fed and trained in the dust and toil of the factory on everything that is mean and sordid that the meanest of all possible systems could generate.

The capitalist politician, self-satisfied and oily, boasts of the privileges and benefits conferred on mankind by modern civilisation. His thoughts are for his own class only. With every want satisfied, their lives a ceaseless round of pleasure, the system, for them, is perfect while it lasts. But for the working class there is nothing but toil and poverty under the system. Unemployment and insecurity produce in their minds that worst of all fears, the dread of hunger for themselves and those dependent upon them.

The environment of the worker being mean and slavish, his brain—a mere sensitive plate—is stamped with those qualities. The physiological problem for the Socialist is, therefore: How to induce the toiler to think for himself on the all-important question, "Socialism versus Capitalism," while his environment is all the while degrading and weakening his mind. The only solution to this problem is a Socialist party alive to its task and becoming ever stronger as a result of its gradual and steady accomplishment. The working class must effect its own emancipation; it is, therefore, to the working class that the Socialist Party brings its message.

Knowing, as we do, the apathy and lack of real knowledge that characterises the wage-slaves, we realise that the Socialist position must be clear and easily understood. Confusion must

be avoided like the pestilence. The object must be clearly defined, and the reasons, historical and economic, that justify it stated with precision. Only when the worker has understood these can he say with truth that his brain functions in his own interest and is no longer a mere adjunct to the factory, the mine, and the land.

When the Socialist Object has been reached, and these things are owned in common, instead of being the be-all and end-all of the worker's physiological existence they will be relegated to their proper sphere. They will be used to satisfy our everyday wants instead of being dissipated for capitalist profits. They need no longer dominate, enslave and degrade the mind of a single human being, because, with modern methods and machinery the major portion of our time can be spent in congenial surroundings, in an environment that will stimulate the brain, engendering healthy thoughts and a mind serene and dignified.

F. F.

SHEER CUSSEDNESS.

It may be remembered that the commander of the American forces in France assured us, in a speech upon the occasion of the welcoming of some part of the American fighting forces on this side of the sprat puddle, that the men in America are "simply crazy" to be over here and in the game. And now comes full confirmation in the following, presented to us by "Lloyd's Newspaper" August 5th:

ARMED RESISTANCE BY U.S. CONSCRIPTS EXPECTED.

It is estimated that more than 75 per cent. of the drafted are claiming exemption. It is reported to the Department of Justice that armed resistance to the draft is in the highest degree likely.

You see Americans have such a high example of veracity in George Washington that the truth bubbles from them spontaneously, like wisdom from Lloyd George.

This gentleman has the wisdom faculty of Solomon after he (Sol.) had subjected himself to a long dieting of serpents. Only this week he has been at it again, and the acumen of one particular statement of his reaches about the limit of human profundity. He is reported as having told the gaping world that "No one in Britain, France, Italy, or Russia, or even in Germany or Austria has any idea how near to the summit of our hopes we may be."

Not only in what was said is the speaker's quality revealed, but even more so in what was left unsaid. One has but to add three little words, clearly enough suggested, to the statement in order to complete its immortal value, and launch one on a train of thought of peculiar depth and richness. Those words are: "or may not."

That, of course, is the whole message which the Welsh Christ gave us in a moment of five-thousand a year inspiration—a sermon on the mount, since he was using a mountaineering analogy. "We do not know, nor does anybody else, how near or how far away from victory we may be." True. The Prussian does not know how near or how far from a terrible licking he is. True again. Translated into the language of the people for the people, "Nobody don't know nuthink." Loud Jaws has told us so.

Talking of analogies, Mr. Lloyd George supplies us with a notable one. Some years ago he raised the water line of ships, and converted dry ships into wet ships. Now he has raised the water line of beer, incidentally converting dry sailors into wet ones. And, if he wants to complete the analogy, he has but to claim that just as he "with a stroke of the pen," as was said at the time, added millions of tons to the carrying capacity of the mercantile marine, so, with a stroke of the pump-handle, he has considerably increased the carrying capacity of the mercantile mariner—or any other.

And this cuss is wondering whether Lloyd has got his money in breweries or water companies—or both.

THE CESS.

BY THE WAY.

The points of view expressed in the papers by those who sit in authority over us are indeed illuminating. On the subject of "alien enemies" some queer things are said. While there are some who advocate the internment of all such persons, others are prepared to let them be at large so long as they can be employed and as a result of this "an Englishman would be released to fight."

In this connection I recently read that a chairman of a Tribunal asked a baker who raised the question of the difficulty of obtaining labour why he did not employ Germans. The applicant replied by asking whether it was advisable, and said that if the public knew it they would raid the shop. Then with profound wisdom the chairman delivered himself of the following:

I think it is short-sighted on the part of the public. If a German were employed an Englishman would be released to fight.

"Evening News," July 12th, 1917.

The General Federation of Trade Unions announces a conference to consider the question of soldiers' and sailors' pay. "One of the demands is that the minimum net allowance of any British Soldier as from July 1 shall be 3s. per day; and also that the Government provides and pays from July 1 1917, all allotments to wives and other dependents."—"Daily News," July 20th, 1917.

Presumably the General Federation regards 3s. per day as being the trade union rate of wages for one body of workers going forth to slaughter other workers with whom they have no quarrel, whom they have never even met, at the behest and in the interest of their lords and masters. What Lloyd George thinks of this "audacity" I wait to see.

Mr. F. G. Kellaway, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Munitions, addressed a meeting of the allied engineering trades at Luton a short time ago on the subject of dilution of labour. He also referred to the recent strike and the causes which led up to this event. Deploring the fact that there was a deep-rooted suspicion in the minds of many trade unionists that dilution on private work, once introduced, would not be got rid of, but would remain as a regular practice after the termination of hostilities, he went on to say:

The proceedings in the House of Commons on the Dilution Bill were not fully reported in the Press, so that the Government's case for the Bill was only imperfectly brought before the men.

In this connection, I would say that the Government has, in many respects, suffered from the limitations which the shortage of paper has placed on the space which the Press is able to devote to these large questions. I have for a long time held the opinion that the paper shortage has been a serious handicap to the Government in keeping the country fully informed of the considerations which guide their policy.

—"Daily Telegraph," July 9th, 1917.

Now really this is all swank. The Press and the censor make a studious practice of giving as little space as possible to these questions affecting the conditions of labour of large numbers of workers. In this very issue of the "Daily Telegraph," which is typical of many others, there are 47½ columns devoted to advertising matter, 2½ columns relating to the money market and market reports, and 34 columns of general information; therefore out of a total of 84 columns no less than 50 are utilised for advertising purposes. Shortage of paper, forsooth! Next please.

A month or two since there appeared in our journal an article dealing with two plays ("Ghosts" and "Damaged Goods") which were then running at London theatres. The why and the wherefore was then fully dealt with. I return to the subject to quote the following:

It is a sign of the times that there are now running in London two plays which deal with the subject of venereal disease. Even four years ago such a thing would have seemed impossible, and thirty-six years ago, when "Ghosts" was received with a storm of violent abuse, few could have foreseen how

public opinion would change towards it. The reason is mainly to be found in the propaganda world which led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases.

—"British Medical Journal," June 6th, 1917.

From recent happenings in the House one is reminded of the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon performances and the heart-to-heart talks for men at the local tin Bethel. In the early part of July Mr. Bonar Law made a statement with regard to his duties as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He said: "A statement of his that he did not think it was his business to spend his time in trying to save £100 here and £100 there had been held up as very reprehensible, but at a time when we were spending millions daily the functions of a Chancellor of the Exchequer were much better exercised in trying to get a good system of expenditure and in getting the right men to carry out that system than in trying to cut down £100 here and there. . . . "He certainly would not have taken up the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer if he had not thought he was capable of performing its duties. He had no object in doing so on any other terms.

In the first place he was not fond of work. (Laughter.) For the last twenty-five years at least he had never done any which he could either persuade or pay somebody else to do for him."

—"Daily Telegraph," July 7th, 1917.

There's candour for you. It calls to mind the wag who said that "only fools and horses work." Working men run the boats and Bonar pockets "divi." When will we awake from our slumber?

On the question of freights and food Mr. Bonar Law made a more significant admission. While he told his audience that he "was really ashamed to make the confession," and he "thought it was disgraceful that in a time of war any class should be able to make the profits he would describe," I have not observed that he has endeavoured to obtain abolition by giving these extra profits to the Lord's poor, or even to the "heroes broken in our war." However, it's never too late to spend—or to buy war loan.

Mr. Law continued:

The sum of money he had invested was £8,110, and at 5 per cent. interest that would produce £405 a year. For the year 1915, instead of £405, he received £3,624, and in 1916 he received £5,847. That was not the whole story. One of the steamers in which he was interested had been sold or sunk—he was not sure which. (Laughter.) In that ship he had £200, and after the very handsome dividends he had received he received in liquidation a cheque for a little over £1,000. There was another shipping company in which he had invested £350, and the other day he had received a letter from the owners saying that they were going to make a division of the surplus capital. For the £350 which he had invested he had received a cheque for £1005.

—"Daily News," July 4th, 1917.

This quotation is rather lengthy, but to condense it would be to spoil it. Our masters and their hirelings glibly talk about "equality of sacrifice," and the while are enriching themselves enormously whilst increased hardships are the lot of the majority of the workers. Think it over.

During the debate on an amendment on the new Franchise Bill Mr. Harold Smith objected to conscientious objectors having a vote. Though he admitted that in the majority of instances the objectors were genuine, a significant admission, although somewhat late—still he would not give them the vote. Another M.P. interrupting

Asked the hon. member why he was not serving, as he was of military age.

That is a matter for which I shall answer to my own conscience, replied Mr. Harold Smith.

—"Daily News," June 27th, 1917.

So you see there is still some unconscious humour left in the world. One conscientious objector (the "Scout," for instance) is so much beneath the contempt of the patriot (Mr. Harold Smith, for example) that he may not even have a vote to cast for or against another conscientious objector (again it might be Mr. Harold Smith) taking a seat in the House of Commons.

In the early days of the war the drink question loomed large in many speeches that were

then made by the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George. For every shortcoming of the Government and lack of essential materials wherewith to wage war our old friend "Bung" was blamed. The workers in very truth, according to the Welsh Messiah, were sullen in drink, even as Mr. Philip Snowden had declared some time before. Said the Welsh Rarebit: "Drink is doing more damage in the war than all the German submarines put together." Then he was prepared to take a pledge of abstinence from the strong drink that was raging, and the newspaper editors, in their usual fawning manner, dished up a large announcement that the King had also banned alcoholic liquor from the Royal Household. Now a different tale is told. It is inexpedient to deal too drastically with this question.

On this interesting theme, I notice there is another gentleman who is greatly concerned about the workers' thirst for malt food in liquid form. One, Will Thorne, recently returned from a trip to Russia, has written to the King with regard to the shortage of beer. From a bright, brief, and brotherly reply I notice that Bill has been informed by the King's Secretary that—

The question of the shortage of beer, especially during the summer months, is one which demands careful and prompt consideration. I am passing your letter to Lord Rhonda, and adding that the matter is one which the King hopes will be dealt with in a considerate manner.

Simply marvellous, isn't it? Doubtless the question of munitions and ship-building, and kindred problems, have all been satisfactorily solved ere this, and once again we can all join in singing praises to "Beer, beer, glorious beer."

In our Declaration of Principles we state that "In society . . . there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess." Addressing an assembly at the Aldwych Club recently, Lord Leverhulme, of soap fame, put forward a plea for shorter working hours, advocating a six-hour day and a system of co-partnership. Whether he had been reading the SOCIALIST STANDARD I cannot say, but at least the truth of the extract quoted above is accepted by him. He informed his hearers that:

There was no possibility of reconciling the opposing claims of capital and labour. They must be fused. Co-partnership was the solution.

And again—

Machinery should be worked twelve hours a day, by two six-hour shifts of workers. Output of material would be increased, and, at the same time, the wear and tear of the human body would be lessened.—"Daily News," July 11th, 1917.

One is tempted to ask whether, in those firms where these "opposing claims" are "fused," the workers carry home as much of the swag as the owners of the factory and the plant necessary for the production of the commodity, and if not why not. And further, if there is any guaranteed continuity of employment. The reply, of course, is obviously in the negative. A study of the co-partnership snare reveals the fact that the wage-slave, no matter what the conditions are which surround his employment, is robbed of his product, and that co-partnership contains all the evils inherent in the capitalist system. The solution of the "opposing claims" is by a triumphant working class obtaining political power and converting these privately owned but socially manipulated means of wealth production into the common property of society for the good of all.

The trip of a princess to Southend a short while ago has brought to light a good illustration of official ignorance. It will be remembered that on the occasion of this joy ride rumour asserted that a fleet of aeroplanes accompanied the train. At a meeting of munition workers at Plumstead the statement was made in a question addressed to Dr. Addison, asking him if such was the case. He then replied that—

The question has been considered by the Cabinet and there is not a word of truth in the statement.

The question was then transferred to the House of Commons. Mr. Macpherson replying

stated that "there was not an escort by any aeroplanes of the R.F.C." Then came a letter from the private Secretary of the Queen to the Mayor of Southend with the significant admission that "Her Royal Highness . . . was greatly interested in the fleet of aeroplanes which escorted the special train during the latter part of the journey." Finally Mr. Macpherson made another statement in the House on the subject, when he said:

In a reply he gave on Wednesday he said that no R.F.C. aeroplanes escorted Princess Mary on her visit to Southend, but this answer, he regretted to say, was incorrect. It was given after the usual reference to the R.F.C. and Home Defence Corps. Neither of these authorities was able to find any foundation for the story at the moment.

—"Daily News," July 21st, 1917.

Such are the specimens of official replies of the win-the-war government.

The case of an objector to military service "who was confined in a pit 12 feet below the level of the ground for eleven days and nights in Cleethorpe's Camp and for four days of that time was obliged to stand ankle deep in mud and water," was recently brought to the notice of the Under Secretary for War. At first the right hon. gentleman was not aware of such a trivial happening as this and would have to make enquiries. Eventually this was done and we read:

Mr. Macpherson replied that he regretted to say the allegations made were substantially correct. The case arose in the first place because the man was not given the option of a trial by court-martial, but was dealt with summarily by the commanding officer; and, secondly, because having been awarded detention, he was not committed to a detention barracks in accordance with the regular practice. . . . The Army Council took a grave view of the action of the authorities responsible and were considering what further action in the matter should be taken.—"Daily News," July 20th, 1917.

Now in the light of the foregoing who would not agree that "Kind, kind, and gentle are we" in our treatment of those with whom we disagree? Even Stanton would have them put out of existence more speedily by having them shot!

The "Daily News," in a leaderette of the same date asks: "What evidence does the War Office possess that this 'irregularity' is isolated, and that other conscientious objectors in other camps are not being similarly tortured? In the second place, it would be interesting to hear what punishment has been inflicted on the officers who ordered, sanctioned, or tolerated this abominable cruelty. Military punishments are notoriously severe. What have they amounted to in this case? The answer will show how far the War Office are sincere in their professed efforts to put down brutalities of this description."

The revolting story of the Mesopotamian campaign, brought to light as the result of the work of the commission appointed to enquire into this ghastly military tragedy, emphasised once again the callousness engendered by militarism. To apportion blame to a few individuals is to tinker with the subject. Everyone who shouts for the war stands condemned, jointly and individually, and must shoulder his or her part of the responsibility. No wonder Lloyd George wanted the matter hushed up and says "Get on with the war."

The capitulation of Lord Derby before the tee Sekt Committee on the Re-examination of of rejected men is an admission of the truth of the allegations laid at the door of the War Office with regard to the methods of the military and the medical boards in taking up the halt, the lame and the blind. The transfer of power to a civilian body looks all right on the face of it, but is it merely a case of the doctor discarding a khaki uniform for a civilian garb?

A leading article appearing in the "Weekly Dispatch," June 10th, 1917, dealt at great length with the questions of peace and reconstruction. After pointing out that during the war there had been equality of sacrifice in regard to the risk of loss of life and limb, the writer went on

to say that when the demobilisation takes place it would not be on such a large scale as many people now believed. He continued:

For instance, 5,000,000 soldiers and sailors will not be at once thrown upon the labour market, nor will 3,500,000 munition workers at once lose their employment. The terms of peace may be such as to make it essential for us to maintain large armies and munition factories for many years to come.

What, then, becomes of the oft-repeated phrase about this being the "war to end war"? And further, what is to be said of those who are still advocating the "knock-out" blow.

The article goes on to speak of the war which we Socialists are engaged in—the class war. It says:

We have two separate and distinct wars in progress—one which the whole nation is waging, and one which has been going on for some years and not one whit less bitter—the war that has been and is still going on between the employer and employee.

If we are to be ready for the world peace one day to come, to be ready once more to take up the challenge of the great battle for trade, then the peace between the employer and employee must be signed before the peace between the nations now at war.

Let us be under no delusion: there WILL be a temporary lack of employment while we are putting our house in order; there will be a shortage of food for months after the war, as the various governments will require as many ships as are now being used to take back the men to their different destinations; and as for prices, a man must be indeed an optimist if he believes that the cost of essentials will for many years, if ever, return to the 1914 level.

Here, then, is a frank confession from an inspired source of the benefits held out to the mass of the people for giving their support to capitalist society—hard work for some, unemployment for many others, and semi-starvation for all. Join then with us for its abolition, and institute in its place social co-operation.

How the satellites of the win-the-war government carry on their recruiting methods is indeed a sorry spectacle. The harrying of the unfit, the halt, the maimed, and the blind is now quite a commonplace feature of militarism (English variety). In spite of all their protestations that such things have been magnified, and that, like the small boys caught sneaking the apples, "we won't do it again, sir," many accounts are yet to hand of these outrages on a long-suffering public. A recent one describes the case of a cripple called up for service. It states:

"A farce and an abuse of the process of the court" were the terms in which Mr. Bingley, the magistrate at Marylebone, described the action of the authorities in summoning Horace Ingram as an absentee under the Military Service Act.

It was stated that Ingram had been an invalid from birth, suffered from curvature of the spine, had lain for three years on a steel frame, and was wearing a steel plate in his mouth to enable him to speak properly.

It was a monstrous thing and a great shame, said the magistrate in dismissing the charge, to put such a case in the hands of the police, and the military authorities had not the courtesy to attend in support of the charge.—"Lloyd's Weekly News," Aug. 5th, 1917.

The fourth year of war finds our masters still in a state of chaos and hard put to it to find sufficient cannon fodder to prosecute the "war of liberty." When will the Government comb out their friends in the House and the others who have recently discovered that they are engaged in work of national importance? Hush! Is it only the working class they want slaughtered?

THE SCOUT.

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city of York, but the unique possession of the English Church, are to be taken down because the enemy sought destruction with engines of war unknown in days of old, and with a ruthlessness unequalled in the most savage times. That ought to remove the nasty taste left in the mouth after reading the preceding paragraph.

M. Phillips Price, Petrograd correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian," describes ("Manchester Guardian" 17.7.17) a visit he made to the Kronstadt prison in June. One portion that he visited contained a number of admirals, generals, and naval and military officers of all ranks who had been arrested at the outbreak of the revolution. "They all complained," he says, "that they had been kept there three months without any trial or examination of their cases. But the young sailor who accompanied me chimed in: 'I sat in this very prison for three years for having been found with a Socialist pamphlet in my possession. All that time I never had a trial of any kind whatever.' I pointed out to the sailor that the prison accommodation was unfit for a human being. He answered, 'Well, I sat here all that time because of these gentlemen, and I think that if they had known they were going to sit here they would have made better prisons.'" A case of what's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Opponents of Socialism used to be fond of saying that under such a system there would be no progress, no advance in science, art, etc., in fact, all incentive would be destroyed. No inventions would appear, no researches would be made, for the simple reason that it wouldn't pay—there would be no adequate return for services rendered. Of course, the inference always drawn from this kind of argument is that under the present beautifully adjusted system every effort made ensures due appreciation and reward to the full. Does it? A perusal of the Civil List Pensions from time to time will indicate the extent to which incentive is "rewarded" under the present system.

Among the items on the latest list I notice the following:

Mrs. Charlton Bastian, in consideration of the services to science of her late husband, Dr. Charlton Bastian and her straitened circumstances, £100.

Mrs. Minchin, in consideration of the scientific work of her late husband, Prof. E. A. Minchin, and her straitened circumstances, £75.

Mrs. Roland Trimen, in consideration of the eminent services of her late husband to biological science, and of her straitened circumstances, £75.

Mrs. Albert Gunther, in consideration of the scientific work of her late husband, Dr. Albert Gunther, and of his distinguished services to the British Museum as Keeper of Zoology, £70.

The Misses Aimee, Clotilde, and Nora Evelyn Legros, in consideration of the artistic eminence of their late father, Professor Legros, and of their inadequate means of support, £75.

The thousands of homes that have been broken up in order that our masters' property might remain secure will, by now, have disposed of the favourite argument of the "anti" that Socialism meant the break-up of family life. The newspapers week by week are full of heart-rending cases where homes are utterly broken, with perhaps, the loss of the loved one by legal murder to complete the ruin. In the Manchester district there are eight homes for waifs and strays; now it has been found necessary to establish a receiving home, such is the traffic.

The Bishop of Manchester, who "dedicated" found the explanation of the increase in child destitution in the fact that the war has taken so many of the husbands and fathers away from their homes—never to return, he might have added.

The bishop said that the removal from home of one of the parents was the primary cause of many children becoming destitute. No, reverend sir, not the primary cause; but it was a near shot, and we shall always take care to remind you and your friends of it.

On the same day (18.7.17) a jug was sold at Christie's for 3,600 guineas.

LACHES.

BABY WEEK.

THE RESHAPING OF OLD MORALS TO SUIT NEW CIRCUMSTANCES.

The city of London has been *en fete* for a whole week. Members of the idle master class gathered in large numbers at classic Westminster in order to do honour to the resurrection era of King Baby. Never since the days following the Great Plague has "Mother's boy" been so sincerely greeted, and fondled, and feted, as during this right-royal national reception. Ladies of the highest title and social standing took upon themselves the honourable task of tickling the toes of mere working-class kiddies what time they showered congratulations upon their beaming mothers.

Let it be most distinctly understood that the object of all this chivalrous attention was to do honour to WORKING-CLASS babies. Should you be so indiscreet as to inquire why the "sun-beams" of our particular class should be singled out for this shower of sentiment I would merely suggest that it arises from the fact of these ladies of title having no children of their own, comparatively speaking.

Why have they no children of their own, you ask. Well, sir, my lady has her form to consider, as well as her position in society, in addition to which, childbirth is a rather painful and disagreeable process.

And how comes, you again ask, that during the progress of the world's greatest war so many ladies—and gentlemen—are able to find so much time to spare when so many humbler folk are in the trenches or the munition works? Ah! to be coloured like a canary or disfigured in an explosion is not fashionable in high society, nor, come to that, is—WORK!

But what is the reason for this celebration of "Baby Week"? It appears to our masters that the male population of the British Isles is falling to alarmingly proportions, and that the death rate among children of working-class parentage has increased to dangerous limits. The reasons advanced for the high mortality are many and varied. One newspaper ascribes it to "Slums, dirt, disease, drink, ignorance, and virmin."

The inclusion of drink as a contributory cause is only to be expected, for the bosses' agents always declare that "drink is the basic cause of poverty." It is, of course, a deliberate lie. The working man is poverty-stricken before ever he starts to purchase drink. Apart from this, the price of drink has placed it almost beyond the reach of poor people at the very time that infant mortality is reaching its highest point.

In the present period it matters not so much whether your child is born in the legitimate manner or not, so strangely has capitalist society transformed its moral code in order to fall in with supply and demand. This come-down in social morality is all the more notable because it strikes such a staggering blow at the foundation of the Christian Church. A slight idea of what is taking place may be gathered from a perusal of the following extract:

"The time has gone when people turned up their noses at illegitimate children, and now these, as well as legitimate children, are welcome, so long as they are healthy," said Coroner Graham at an inquest held at Gateshead.

"News of the World," 8.7.1917.

This spectacle of the unfortunate girl who dared to give birth to a child out of wedlock now being fawned upon as a desirable member of society by those who never hesitated to "down" her would afford an interesting study for a cynical philosopher. Still, in these days when those who should have been the fathers of the future are dying like flies, the upkeep of the children of whatever parentage is of vital consequence to the British capitalists.

At London celebrations of "Baby Week" numerous speakers referred to the imperative duty of every working-class wife bearing children for the benefit of the State. No serious proposal, however, was made as to the State aiding her in feeding the children she bore.

The patrons of "Baby Week" would admit, doubtless, that they regard it as a matter for general regret that Mr. McNeill's "war baby" prophecy was not more true than it proved to be.

Had it been the necessity for a "Baby week" might never have arisen.

Just at the time when people are wailing about the paucity of good, healthy children it behoves us to look back in order to see how carefully babies were looked after in pre-war days. Referring to our London milk supply Lionel W. Lyde, M.A., F.R.G.S., Professor of Economic Geography in University College, London, wrote some few years back the following significant statement:

For our huge city population the milk supply is miserably deficient. Holland, which is only about one-tenth the size of the United Kingdom, has about 4,000,000 more cows; more than a quarter of our milk supply is used for making butter and cheese; hundreds of gallons go bad every day, because the poor cannot afford the price demanded for it; and a large proportion of the milk which is sold in poor districts is watered, especially in London and on Sundays.

When we recall that countless children of working-class parentage have died because pure milk has been beyond their mothers' slender purses, the damnable character of the practice of destroying foodstuffs in order to keep up prices becomes increasingly apparent.

As a concluding comment I would commend to the reader the appended statement made by A. A. Phillips, M.B.C.M., late Medical Officer of Public Health, Northern Divisions of Scotland, in his book, "What a Young Husband Should Know":

The change in social conditions, the modern struggle for life, has brought women everywhere into competition with men. Look at it as we may, like it or dislike it as it pleases us, it becomes daily more clear that women are being FORCED into sexlessness by causes which are beyond our or their control.

When you are tired, therefore, of listening to the usual humbug of the master-class agents regarding the size of your family as distinct from their own, you might reasonably examine the Socialist case. Wake up now, for the age of enlightenment is upon you. Think out your position and study the only means whereby you may free yourself from the tyranny and oppression of capitalism. Only when you have done this can you satisfactorily solve the question of the number of children who should be brought into the world. Arm yourself against the menace of modern society, and march in the already singing army whose voice rings out the glad words: "The International unites the human race." B. B. B.

THE CHRISTIAN BUTCHER.

One notices among a myriad of flag days one set aside for what is termed "a silent tribute to the late Lord Roberts." In connection with this the following funny extract, dashed up in characteristic Christian style, is not without a touch of real spice. The Bishop of Salisbury, speaking at Poole respecting the death of the "hero" of Kandahar said:

A noble pattern for the last recruit in our new army to try to follow, he lived with the sword in his hand, but with his eyes upon Christ. His crowning glory was the pre-eminence he gave to God.

Now while it may be quite conforming to custom for people like the brave dope doctor and other high and mighty folk to hold other people's coats what time they themselves survey the non-existent Johnny from a position twenty miles behind the front trenches, we are of the conviction that from the view-point of a soldier the advice is more likely to gain for the onlooker one "where the chopper hit the chicken" and a free passport into heaven. Still, doubtless this also forms part of the "crowning glory." Who knows. B. B. B.

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IN PEACE AS IN WAR.

When the capitalist class plunged the workers into the vortex of war the toilers took up the capitalist cry of "down with German Militarism." It was easy for our masters to see what willing tools their wealth producers would be, and they organised and engineered, with the aid of the labour leaders, various schemes to entrap the workers for cannon fodder. For a short period thousands flocked to the recruiting offices, but with an alarming falling off of willing targets, other means had to be adopted to "induce" them to join. Article after article in newspapers began to tell gruesome tales of the horrible brutality of the German soldiers and what it would mean to the workers here if they only landed on these shores. But finding this failed to appeal to their patriotism, the employers were urged to dispense with the young men in their employ and so force them into the army. Many other snares they tried signally failed, and having in view their determination to introduce the Military Service Acts and so make them law they, without disclosing their real intentions, compelled every man and woman to register and so clear the way of all obstacles for the administration of the aforementioned Acts. Wedged in between the employers' action and conscription was the "Derby Volunteer" attestation, but in spite of all their hypocritical promises, lying and deceit, thousands of men still refused to be coerced into the army. In order to successfully bind the military chains around the married men the single men were called slackers and shirkers. The insults and innuendoes were swallowed, the single men were roped in, shortly to be followed by their married brethren.

Side by side with the stupendous slaughter of the workers on the battle-fields of Europe the cry of the workers of both sexes at home grows louder and louder. The intensified pace of exploitation hurls its victims in greater numbers on the heaps of human wreckage, some to linger with cruel tenacity to life in spite of their mangled bodies, others becoming an easy prey to the ravages of consumption and other fatal diseases. Here and there workers in different industries have feebly struggled against the encroachments of the masters when they have seen their hard fought-for trade-union rules and regulations gradually being smashed; but taking them on the whole they have acquiesced in the worsening of their economic conditions. The rise in prices of the necessities of life have become a common-place feature, the while wages have miserably failed to keep in touch with it. Hence the workers' position gradually becomes worse in spite of all statements to the contrary.

The working class as yet do not comprehend their real relation to the capitalist class in modern society; do not understand that by virtue of the fact that the capitalist class own and control the means and instruments of wealth production they take the wealth produced and hand back in the form of wages just sufficient to keep their slaves efficient. On the one hand there is always the struggle between the producers and non-producers concerning the price of workers' labour-power; on the other a struggle between the various sections of the international capitalist class for the disposing on the world's markets of the wealth filched from the workers.

All economic wealth is the result of human energy applied to natural objects, and as it is only the working class who spend their energy by applying it to the natural objects, it follows that they are responsible for all wealth in existence. When the capitalist hires the worker he purchases the one commodity (labour-power) which has the unique quality of returning to the capitalist all the value he pays in wages and a surplus value in addition—hence his profits. The machinery and instruments of production and the raw materials being owned and controlled by the master class, involves the ownership and control of the wealth when produced. It is this private ownership that is responsible for the class struggle, responsible for the clashing of interests among the international capitalist class for the available markets of the world for the disposal of their commodities, that is the

source of ALL modern wars. With the ever-growing productivity of the means of wealth production the world's markets are choked with commodities. There is not room for all the struggling capitalists. Someone must be got out of the way. The forces behind each powerful combination are put into play until one or the other are economically and militarily crushed.

A favourite theme of articles in the Press to-day is that the end of this war will bring permanent peace. We are out to disillusion our fellow-workers on this lie; to point out to them that while the private property basis of society obtains, wars must inevitably occur. The workers must always haggle over the price of their labour-power; the capitalists of the world must fight against each other for the world's markets for the sale of the wealth stolen from the workers. Hence, whether the ghastly slaughter continues or not, the workers will—unless they organise to change the basis of society—be continually faced with the brutal struggle for existence, and gradually see their standard of subsistence get lower and lower.

As yet but few understand the cause of the awful manifestations of modern society. Thousands are groping in the dark for a way out of the morass, and it is to them the Socialist explains the remedy. We claim that if the workers are intelligent enough to manipulate the machinery of wealth production and distribution on behalf of their masters, they are intelligent enough to manipulate that machinery for themselves and to own and control the wealth when produced.

We urge our fellow-workers to study their position, endeavour to realise their relations with the masters, to understand that the capitalist class control the destinies of the workers of the world by their control of political power; that every time they vote for the masters' nominees they give the political power to those masters.

While we recognise the need of the workers to always fight the capitalist over the price of their labour-power, we would nevertheless fail in our duty if we did not point out that this struggle is powerless to alter the antagonism between the producers and non-producers. The workers must understand that their organisations—political and economic—must be grounded on class lines, having for their object the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of a system of society based upon the social ownership and control of the means of wealth production, in short—Socialism.

Only by recognising and embracing those principles can the workers eradicate from their midst such frightful carnage as is now raging in Europe, and abolish the painful destruction of the world's toilers in "peace" and in war. Not only does the Socialist vehemently protest against the wholesale slaughter of his fellow-workers in this capitalist war, he with equal vehemence proclaims his hostility to the systematic murder of his fellows in the production of wealth to maintain the human race in the "piping times of peace," where thousands are done to death yearly in the mines, on the railways and in factories, heaping up huge profits for our masters. It needs no comment of ours now to narrate the horrors of explosions in the coal-mines where gas has been known to be present to make it dangerous to work many months before, nor is it necessary for us to draw your attention to the Board of Trade figures in reference to the maimed and murdered recorded on the railroads each year, the men who have lost their lives in ships overloaded since the raising of the load-line by Lloyd-George.

To-day in the munition factories men and women are done to death, battered, bruised, to say nothing of those who have contracted diseases of the most awful character in the production of explosives. The same toll of useful lives is taken in the greed for profits as in pre-war days; the numbers in the mines, mills and railroads reaching an appalling figure. Whether in this capitalist war or in the class war always with us while the present system obtains, the same cruel murderous manifestations can be seen. Those who produce the sustenance and comforts of life are butchered, or exist in poverty and misery, while those who do not produce live in affluence and luxury. The only war that should interest you is the—CLASS WAR.

FARMER'S BOY.

LET US END IT.

As I write we enter the fourth year of the war. Arm-chair warriors of every nationality, who support the rigors of the struggle with such remarkable courage and endurance, are exchanging greetings and reaffirming their will and determination to stick it as long as they can find men to fight for them—or women for that matter when the supply of men no longer meets the military needs. Politicians are made and broken in the service of Mars; millions are piled on millions in the tale of the cost of it in treasure; the country bristles with hospitals crowded and overcrowded with the poor wreckage that testifies to the cost of it in blood and suffering; no family in the land is there but sorrows for cruel losses, and goes about its daily business in the gloom of catastrophes to come, but the war drags on.

With each succeeding season the strife is waged on a lower plane. One after another more brutal methods of slaughter are adopted, by both sides alike. One by one the scruples which have survived all other wars between civilised peoples are found to be impediments, and are abandoned. The British "gas," which was not going to be of a poisonous nature, is now found to accomplish awful things, and not the "huns" only go into battle under orders to take no prisoners. Indeed, we have advanced beyond this, and if persistent tales are to be believed, on one side at least which shall be nameless, prisoners of war—men whose surrender has actually been accepted—are driven into dug-outs and bombed to death!

The war seems now to have settled down to a definite policy of "manning" on the actual fronts—a policy of man for man, with the hope of a favourable balance in the long run. It is openly and repeatedly stated by people of importance that the business of the war from the allied point of view is to kill Germans, and no doubt corresponding views obtain on the other side. The logical result of this must be that the collapse must come from that source of all armies, the civil population. Much as has been said about the Russian crumple having robbed the Allies of victory this year, there is not the slightest indication that this is the fact. The evidence all points to the limits of any push being the effective range of its artillery mass, even in the face of comparatively weak numbers. If so, then attrition is the only process on the battlefield, a process which must become slower as the cost mounts up, and the only result of the entry of America into the conflict can be to prolong this agonising progress to the long-predicted stalemate.

With such a gloomy prospect facing them, it is full time the peoples of the world rose to the occasion. The international authors of the war, unable to reach a settlement through their usual instrument, militarism, find themselves ever more helpless in the coils of the child of their own loins. The more they have spent in this bid for supremacy in the world markets, the greater is the force compelling them to persist in their efforts to retrieve their fortunes by victory or stall off ruin by averting defeat. These cannot stop so long as they can find the men to fight for them, and keep their civil populations at work for them and acquiescent in their sordid and awful aims.

Are we, then, to drift on through further years of torture? Are we to go on losing our loved ones—our sons, our brothers, our comrades, our friends—in order that statesmen may splutter about teaching the Germans to say "reparation"? What is reparation to the toiling masses? What reparation can there be for the dead? Can they be made good by sacrificing still other lives to the fetish "reparation"? No! There is only reparation for property, and what concern is that of the propertyless?

Along the road our masters are driving us lies ruin. It is for the working class of the world to save civilisation from the threatening destruction. Let us, then, make ourselves heard ere it is too late. There is plenty of room in the world for all workers: it is the parasites that crowd us. Let us have done with them.

A. E. J.

AN I.L.P. "BELIEF"—Continued.

countries where conscription was in vogue the military authorities, at the instigation of those who controlled the political machinery, gave orders for mobilisation and were obeyed almost to the last man. In this country the process was slower but just as sure. Everyone knows how the masters co-operated with their representatives in Parliament by "releasing" men fit for active service. But it is not everyone who knows how dexterously Mr. Asquith and his government, on behalf of the capitalist class of this country, engineered towards conscription. Had he been satisfied with having achieved his object and not boasted of his political dexterity, the workers would have been left to think that the Government had simply blundered from one pledge to another until conscription was accomplished, as much to their own surprise as other people's. But the competition for ministerial portfolios often compels Ministers—however modest they may wish to be thought—to construe their actions in such a way as to gain them credit for acumen and foresight. Thus Mr. Asquith claimed that his government, by devious methods, had gained "compulsion by consent," in the following utterance:

Next, in the earlier stages of the war more men came in than we could effectively train and equip, and it was not until the beginning of last Autumn that the shortage of men, actual or prospective, became a serious problem. Compulsion, whatever may be said of its abstract merits or demerits, is alien to British traditions—(cheers)—and its introduction would have been viewed with the greatest suspicion in the absence of a proved case of absolute necessity by the vast bulk of Liberals, by a large body of Conservatives, and by practically the whole of organised labour. (Cheers.) I have consistently maintained ever since the recruiting problem became urgent that compulsion could only be practicable and made effective when at each stage of the road it was accompanied by general consent. That is exactly what has happened. Everyone who knows anything of our political life must be aware that such measures as have been passed by enormous majorities in Parliament this spring would even a year ago have encountered the most strenuous opposition, with most dubious prospects of survival.

Whether this boast is true, or whether such a complexion had been given to a series of blunders, or whether the Government was dragged or forced along the road to conscription by the governing class, the result was the same and was never in doubt. The ruling class with their agents preserved their authority and achieved the same degree of power over the working class here, as the Allied and Central Governments exercised at the commencement. Clearly class government had not broken down in this country.

But possibly the I.L.P. intellect will object that these facts only apply to the period of the war, and that the outbreak of war placed the Government once more on their feet, or braced them for the struggle. But they cannot take this attitude in view of the concluding sentence in the paragraph quoted. "The peoples had no voice in policy before the war." Quite so. The Government conducted the business of the ruling class in utter disregard and contempt for the working class, until they called upon them to defend "their" country—their country, who's?—and the credulous—or should it be shuffling and treacherous?—I.L.P. babbled about the people who "suddenly found themselves faced with enemies they had to fight." Had the people—that is the working class—understood their class position they never would have waited for the master class to choose enemies for them. But thanks to the I.L.P. and the rest of the parties and organisations that serve the master class, the workers have had but little chance of learning who are their real enemies. Had the workers of every country understood the nature of capitalist society and their own slave position, the governing class in each country would never have succeeded in persuading them that the workers of other lands could be their enemies. There is no possible ground of antagonism between the wage-slaves of one capitalist State and another. The antagonism that exists is entirely between the different groups of the governing class. When these groups fell out they knew that the workers under their control and domination could be

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Secy., 107 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 469, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 10 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

relied upon to do the fighting in their interest. Had they entertained any doubts as to the docility of their wage slaves they would have hesitated before plunging into war. A working class really antagonistic to its rulers would use such an occasion to further its own object: they would face the enemy their experience pointed to; not the enemies of their enemy.

Once again the real Socialist position must be emphasised. The I.L.P. complain that "the peoples had no voice in policy before the war." Would there be any difference if they had? Without knowledge the workers can be led to support any policy that happens to be in the capitalist interest. We have seen the workers in the past—plastic as clay in the potter's hands—led to conflict against those who are "their allies" to-day; or fighting on the side of those who are designated as their enemies, and through all the sanguinary wars engendered by capitalist production and distribution they have remained a slave class under the domination of those for whom they fought. Before wars can cease the workers must gain the knowledge that will enable them to prosecute the class war to a successful conclusion; until that time arrives their lot must be to work the factory machine, or the machine gun, at the instigation and in the interest of the governing class.

F. F.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

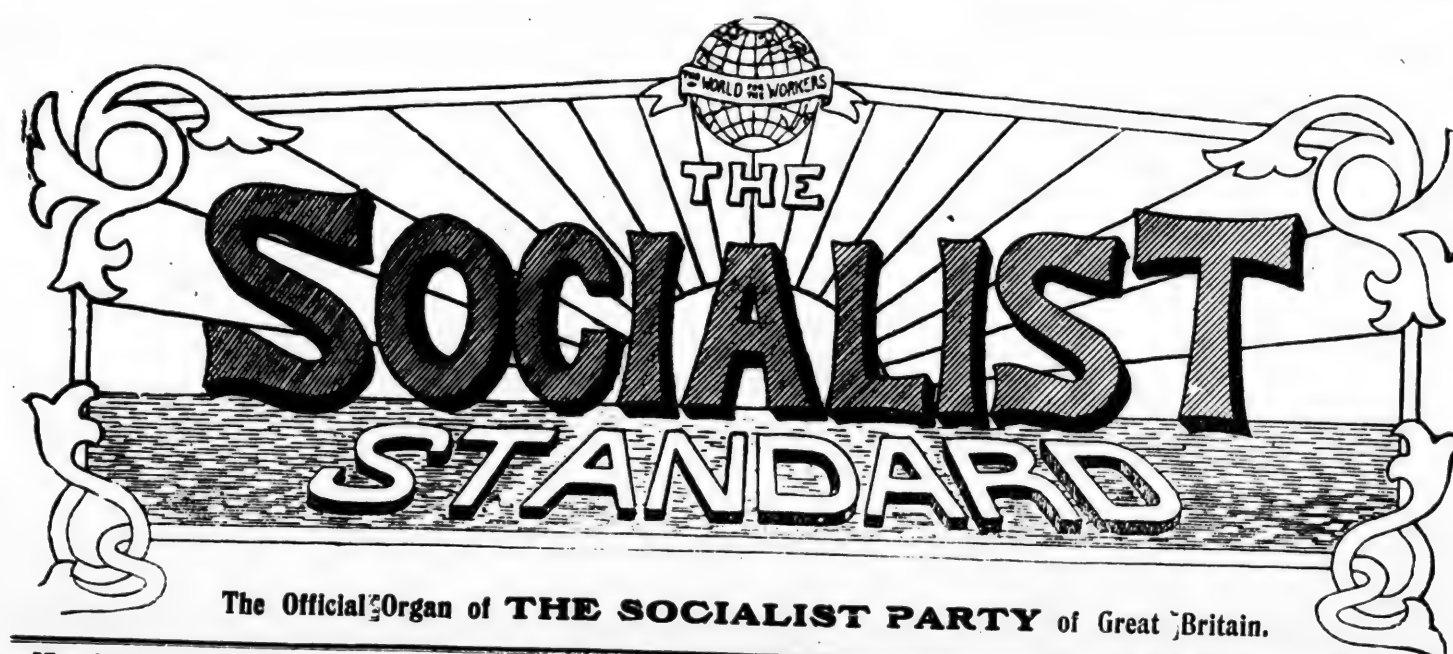
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

ARTISTS AND THE "FIGHTING AGE."

A SOCIALIST'S COMMENTS.

Many of the artists, like Mr. Edgar Bundy, Mr. A. T. Nowell, Mr. J. R. K. Duff, and Mr. Wynne Apperley, continue their work as though they had never heard of the war which is now raging. If an artist is not of the fighting age it is difficult to suggest anything better for him to do.

—A. J. FINBERG in "The Star."

The above gem of reflection has been carefully preserved ever since it was culled from "The Star" for its unconscious humour and its twisted philosophy. It evoked laughter then, and has since. In an unguarded moment the critic has unwittingly revealed himself, and incidentally, the working of the mind of many others. Let us examine it from the point of view thus expressed, and then from a Socialist's.

The art critic is evidently rather surprised, and slightly shocked. "What would happen if everyone stayed at home, like you?" (as the hoardings had it) is the question he mentally asks. The artists "continue their work as though they had never heard of the war which is now raging. If an artist is not of the fighting age it is difficult to suggest anything better for him to do."

Evidently the main idea in Mr. Finberg's mind is, "Get on with the War!" If you are an artist of the "fighting age" then GO! he would say; he thinks the paramount purpose is the prosecution of the war. But if you are not of the "fighting age," Mr. Finberg finds it difficult to suggest to the artists anything better than the pursuit of their art. Ye gods!—it is difficult. A very little frankness goeth a very long way. Let us see the logical effect of this argument.

Evidently, at the present juncture, when central Europe has been turned into a series of vast cemeteries through millions of peaceful workers having been compelled by their masters to maim and destroy each other, the all-important thing in pro-war people's minds is the continuance of War! Like Lloyd George, they want to win the war! But "there are some more concerned about ending the war than about winning it." (Lloyd George at Queen's Hall, Aug. 4, 1917). Yes, there certainly are; and what is of supreme importance, there are some very much more concerned with preventing future wars by abolishing root and branch the present system that produces them than with winning this one.

The great motto for the workers should be "Let us mind our own business!" Had the workers of Europe "continued their work" when their masters—the war-creating class—declared war, and told their rulers "To hell with you and your wars: go fight it amongst yourselves!" then, truly, there would have been no war. It would have been stayed at the onset by "the men who stayed at home."

Oh for class conscious solidarity of the workers, with the one aim of capturing political

power, and with one goal: International Socialism! Lacking those they have become the dupes and pawns of those who exploit and oppress them. Cajoled, deceived and driven like sheep, they have confused their own interests with their masters'. So Europe finds itself to-day in a sanguinary welter of racial hate and fratricide, with smiling fields turned into a desolate arena by the most hellish warfare the world has ever seen.

The demand for men of "fighting age" has been colossal. The glory of young manhood, its health and vigour, has been incessantly sought by the master class. The peremptory call for men to destroy their capitalist-made enemies has been enormous. All the fine qualities, and abilities to do things worth doing, have been spurned as of no worth: to be a soldier was the all in all. The world will never know what men of talent, of genius, who probably would have contributed their quota in the realms of Art and Literature, Poetry and Science, have, through their masters' orgy of futile organised slaughter, been crushed and destroyed in the ruthless progress of the "Great War." It is indeed a tragedy for the individuals and for Humanity also. Militarism is in truth the valet of capitalism! Everything has been subjugated to the needs of capitalism's brute force. "No sacrifice," they told us, was "too great when honour and liberty were at stake." The "honour" and "liberty" of plutocratic thieves!

Many of the men above "fighting age" have also "done their bit," for have they not goaded others to go? Have not some of them sat on Tribunals and "administered" the Military Service Act?

Where also should we have been if all the art critics had joined up? The artists, free from their attentions would be at a loss, and the Press would find it somewhat difficult to fill its columns with stereotyped art-jargon in their absence, and the art-gallery proprietors would not have their shows boomed quite so much.

To a Socialist it is pleasant to know that certain artists "continue their work as though they had never heard of the war which is now raging." The spirit of Art and that of the Warrior are frankly antagonistic. One is creative and contemplative; the other is destructive, and thinks in terms of force. When Socialism becomes the established system of society, then, and not till then, will the workers of the world have abundant opportunity to do the work they wish, and as a "labour of love," no matter what it be, whether expressing themselves in poetry, prose, or paint, or shaping their dreams of beauty in metal or in the marble of Carrara, or in seeking by scientific research to alleviate human pain. Then war will be a thing of the uncivilised past. Men will work for the World's

Commonwealth. Men of "fighting age" will not be considered as potential warriors, but will be considered from the view-point of usefulness to humanity!

That is the crux of the position. "Warriors"! is all the cry to-day—"Men, Money and Munitions"! "Men, and yet more men"!—production for ultimate destructive purposes.

All this, workers, is the outcome of this system of producing for private profit. Everything goes into the melting pot when the capitalists' interests are at stake. No matter what your abilities are or your skill in any sphere of work, when capital calls you to fight in its own hellish wars you have to respond, and if necessary, make "the supreme sacrifice"—your very life!

Workers, organise class-consciously for the capture of the political machine and the establishment of Socialism to end these things once and for all.

Yours is the power and the ultimate victory! The emancipation of mankind from the thralldom of the present system of wage slavery will result.

You desire peace? You wish to abolish warfare? You as a class can alone end it for ever by your concerted efforts: by establishing INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM under which the means of the world's wealth-production will be in the hands of and controlled by the Workers of the World, for the benefit of the multitudes of all nations.

G.

"THE RED BADGE OF COURAGE."

Quite recently one of the regiments of Siberian Rifles, which had fought so splendidly at the beginning of the revolution, abandoned the Riga front, and nothing else but the order to exterminate the whole regiment availed to make it return to its positions. (General Korniloff, Russian Commander-in-Chief, at the Moscow Conference.)

A side-light, this, on the way "heroes" are made. Had these men stood out against the order of "Comrade" Kerensky's colleague in butchery and been exterminated, the world's skunk Press would have been howling "cowards! traitors!" over their reeking corpses. But they chose the un-heroic part, and so will yet become "heroes" and "high-souled patriots," "going into battle with joy," and "making the great sacrifice" for Holy Russia. So it is in all countries. Apart from individuals, the highest courage is to be found farthest back from the trenches. It reaches a high level at "Staff Headquarters," where ornamental soldiers of blood "win their spurs" without losing their lives, and it reaches sublimity as far back as Fleet Street and the Cabinet chamber. But the nearer the front it is the more it has to be manufactured by making the soldier more afraid of his own tyrants than of the "enemy." A. E. J.

A WORLD OF WASTE.

Perhaps the chief characteristic of the present regime is the production of colossal wealth by the workers of the world. In no period has the earth been so ransacked for its potential riches; in no age have the forces of nature, and scientific knowledge, been so utilised to extract wealth as during the last fifty years. In the domain of earth, sea, and air, man exerts wonderful power. Ultimately he may even prevent earthquakes from being a menace, make plagues impossible, and turn the uncontrolled force in the lightning stroke, and the energies of the sea and the sunlight, to the common good.

Man, alas! has assisted in his own enslavement. The wealth he has shaped has diverted him from the destiny that should be his. With all his great heritage, wielding untold potency through science, he should be happier far than those of ages gone. Health and real happiness, knowledge and power, should be his in excelsis were he but the real possessor of his own productions, the disposer of his own powers.

But a blight has settled over Society—the blight of capitalism! That which blossoms and promises abundance for all is turned to foulness, and the fruit it bears is bitter.

And so we see the saddest spectacle of the ages—the vast masses of the people, who are the wealth producers, surrounded by gigantic wealth yet themselves in stint and wretchedness.

Poverty, ceaseless toil, disease, and misery are theirs. Slaves without knowing it are most of them, contented with their chains. Without hope and bereft of ideals, their lives sunless and shorn of imagination by this system that exploits and finally "scaps" them, they exist only as beasts of burden. The epitaph of millions might justly be: "In the grip of the capitalist system they were compelled to waste their very lives." For capitalism, with all its Midas-like power, produces, from its very nature, the most terrible waste imaginable. It is, indeed, in the final and real sense, the essence of wastefulness and misdirected energy.

Let us consider now some aspects in which this is presented.

The children of the workers suffer from malnutrition—due to the inability of their exploited parents to supply them with the necessary food. Often they come into the world the offspring of ill-nourished parents, thus being handicapped from the start. They grow up puny, and continue to be ill-fed, and the most important fundamental is missing from Society: healthy, strong children. The wastage of potential citizens and wealth producers through capitalism is enormous.

Then they are educated. And what an education it is! What efforts are made to develop them physically, to make them sturdy, robust, so that existence becomes enjoyable? Their own innate tendencies are but rarely encouraged; their talents are rarely discovered and developed. Individuality is crushed out of them by the system of education, and the imaginative faculty is looked upon as something to be eradicated! A smattering of this and that is given them, and many of the most valuable kinds of knowledge are denied them altogether.

Thus they are turned out of the schools, half-baked products of capitalistic instruction, with minds impaired by narrow national prejudices, designated "patriotism." They are given only enough "education" to make them docile and industrious wage-slaves. All knowledge that would be dangerous to the present system, and all history of the struggles of the workers in the past to gain freedom, are glossed over, lied about, or hidden from them.

Now consider the hap-hazard employment of children under the system, and their development into full-grown wage-slaves.

Few of the workers can exercise a choice worth calling such in the profession or trade of their children. They take what presents itself. The medical, legal, and scientific professions are excluded by lack of opportunities. Money paves the way. The one idea is to so place them that they may "make a living." The consequence is that the potential artist, scientist, author or architect becomes a mere drudge.

The world will never know what a wealth of

intellect and power is thus dissipated and lost.

Socialism, with its utilisation of human ability for the world's Commonwealth, alone is the remedy. It alone presents the opportunities.

The youthful workers become inured to the system, and generally everything that is taken as a matter of course. The workers' lives are spent in creating wealth. Their very lives are not their own. They become mere drudges. A fatalism is engendered that makes many end their slave existence as they began it—by blindly accepting it. Others may understand their trade interests and become trade unionists, yet never possess the key to emancipation—class consciousness.

One final word on the gigantic waste manifesting itself in a thousand ways. Through their hellish system the masters are compelled to maintain huge fighting forces to conserve their interests. Intestines of rival groups of capitalists clash and war is precipitated, and air, sea and land become the scenes of hideous waste—waste of life and wealth.

Millions have been slaughtered, millions maimed for life. Desolation, ruin, and famine cover the earth. War has created a wilderness of untold waste.

Workers, the one remedy that lies in your hands is Socialism. Organise for the establishment of that system in order that human energy and ability shall no longer be run to waste, in order, instead, that you may reap the fruits of your labours and peace and prosperity be yours. So shall you become masters of your own destiny; so shall man come into his own and realise his infinite capacity to make this globe worth living on; so shall be established, as never before, happiness and liberty for the multitudes of all nations, founded upon the wealth that flows like water from their concerted efforts.

"Isn't this worth fighting for?" think you?
G.

BY THE WAY.

As everyone knows, our masters declared war in 1914 in order to uphold the cause of "right" against "might," and to "put an end to militarism." Have not the Daily Distresses and the Sealey Crocodiles told us so? Those of us who have managed to survive until the year of disgrace 1917 know how successful our rulers have been in the before-mentioned noble ideals. With our pedigree and birth hanging up in the workshop and factory, and the voluminous documents we have to carry about with us in order that we may have the "liberty" to walk about, we cannot but rejoice to think that the employing class have engaged in such a lofty task as the "ending of militarism."

If further information on this subject was required, plenty is at hand. The "right" against "might" theory has been seen in the bamboozling methods obtaining in the early days of recruiting right down to the passing of the unfit under the system of conscription. How "might" has prevailed against "right" is to be found in the violation of pledges to the "Widows' Sons," the agreement that youths under 19 should not be sent to the front, and so on.

Having thus touched on the subject of "right," I come now to the question of "truth." Recently Mr. Macpherson gave evidence before the Select Committee on the Military Service Act (Review of Exemptions), and in the course of the examination he endeavoured to draw a distinction between a "secret" and a "confidential" document. How "militarism" has triumphed here may be gathered from the following:

Mr. Shortt, K.C., reminded him [Macpherson] that in January he had told the House that no secret instructions had been issued with regard to rejections, and he replied that he had done so on more than one occasion.

Asked whether he had made inquiry as to the issue of such instructions without his knowledge before that time he answered: "Yes. Any question affecting recruiting would be taken from the Blue Book circulated among the members by the Department of the War Office called C. 2. It would be sent to the Director of Recruiting, and I am com-

pelled to rely upon any information I get from that Department."

The Chairman: You now know of the secret instructions sent out by Sir A. Keogh in 1916?—"I heard of that for the first time since this Committee has been sitting, and never saw the letter except in print. It would not come before anyone on the civil side of the War Office. It was sent out by Sir A. Keogh, acting, no doubt, on instruction."

In answer to Mr. Pringle, who asked if he had been deceived, he said it was not a question of being deceived or misled. He gave the answer he received.

Mr. Shortt, K.C.: "If you had known that this document existed, would you have given the same answer?"—"He admitted that he would not."

It all depended upon the view the military authorities took. They distinguished between a "secret" document and a "confidential" one. His mind did not go to the niceties of these documents, but in military circles there was a great distinction.

Mr. Shortt, K.C., said that in case the Committee had more military witnesses, they would like to know what the military people called "secret" and "confidential" documents. To my lay mind the term "secret document" would certainly cover this letter.—"Daily News," August 10th, 1917.

The sublime ignorance of the Under Secretary for War on this and kindred subjects is truly amazing, and the endeavour to hide by such a shuffle the mean and despicable attempts of his department to obtain recruits shows how arrogant militarism has become.

In spite of all the big talk that we have heard since the beginning of the war in connection with the discharged soldiers and sailors and a grateful country's treatment of them, signs are not wanting that large numbers are being left to "go the same way home." Once again the soothsayers are wrong. From a news item I learn as followeth: "A national disgrace: 21 discharged fighting men in Portsmouth Workhouse."

It was reported yesterday to the Portsmouth Guardians that there were 21 discharged men from the Army and Navy in the Workhouse as casuals. Eleven had been discharged from the services as medically unfit.

It was considered a national discredit that such things should exist. One speaker said that men discharged as medically unfit were left to roam about the country. It was also stated that there were men back from the front discharged with pensions of 4s. and 5s. a week only.

Manchester Guardians yesterday protested in the strongest possible manner against the scandal and disgrace of pauperising sailors and soldiers who have lost their reason on active service. The Government were pressed to provide for such men without bringing them into contact with the Poor Law.—"Daily Chronicle," August 23rd, 1917.

One is now reminded of the poster which was lavishly displayed two years or so ago, depicting the cottage standing in its own grounds with the words "Isn't this worth fighting for?" At this juncture it seems to be a case of "What do you lack, Sonny?"

From another source there is to hand a case slightly different in detail, but illustrating the same fact that when a man is no longer of fighting value it does not matter to our benevolent bosses what becomes of him and his family. This case stands out more prominently than some for the reason that the man had many years' service to justify a claim for considerate treatment. However, let me quote:

"S.B., an ex-corporal in the R.G.A., who had served 14 years when the war broke out, writes:

"I volunteered for the front in September, 1914, and was sent across for the defence of Antwerp. Later on I fought near Ypres, and was stricken with malaria, which I originally contracted in India in 1905. I was invalided home, and became instructor at my depot until 1916, when I had to report sick."

Last August I was discharged medically unfit. I had been removed from hospital totally disabled on a pension of 4s. 8d. a week, with a wife and four children. After eight months the pension was increased to 9s. and 4s. 6d. for the children, or 13s. 6d. in all. I am still in bed, and am still applying to Chelsea for the total disablement pension. Last Tuesday they asked for my record, though I have written them every week for a year. As one of the "first hundred thousand," I think I deserved better treatment."

—"Daily News," August 10th, 1917.

How's this for generosity? Six people committing suicide on 13s. 6d. a week! Verily the workers are a long-suffering lot. When will they arise from their slumbers and proceed

to end this hellish system of capitalism with all the evils that arise therefrom?

A newspaper correspondent writing from the front a few days ago gave a description of the fighting which had just taken place. He wrote: "This area north-west of Lens has already seen some of the bloodiest struggles of this war, but none perhaps so bloody as it saw this morning."—(Perry Robinson in the "Daily News," 22.8.17.) Of course, the usual reference to the heaps of German dead appeared, though what satisfaction this can be to those who, by a geographical accident, were born on British soil, and have lost a relative, none but the arm-chair prosecutors of the war can appreciate.

The pantomime performance of the Labour Party would indeed be a fit subject for hilarity were it not for the seriousness of the workers' position, which is supposed to reside in their keeping. As in the days before the war the Labour Party, or at least a portion of that party, move amendments or resolutions, as the case may be, and then vote against them. Recently the Corn Production Bill was before the House, and embodied in it was a proposal of 25s. a week wages for agricultural workers. Some of the Labour members moved an amendment to increase the wage to 30s., yet, strange to say, another member of that party, Mr. G. H. Roberts, who has just been rewarded for faithful service to the capitalist government, voted against the 30s. amendment. One wonders whether the agricultural workers of Norfolk will keep their eyes on "their" member in future.

THE SCOUT.

AN UNSUSPECTED WITNESS.

We read not altogether with surprise what an unsuspected witness, the intervenist painter Sartorio, back from two years' imprisonment in Austria, declared to the "Giornale d' Italia":

"Sartorio, crossing various regions of Austria, saw everywhere the camps in perfect order and overflowing with kitchens. That, he said, proves that this year's harvest is very abundant, and therefore we must put aside the idea of defeating Austria by starvation."

He is said to have seen in the railway stations wherever he passed, large quantities of war material and well-equipped troops of excellent aspect, which, in his opinion, reveals that there is not that depression in the men and things of Austria which Italian newspapers like to speak of frequently. He added to this: "Regarding Austria, you have in Italy inexact news. If the existing conditions in Austria are not happy, they are very far from being desperate. I deny that the population is on the eve of a revolution. They suffer, but with resignation. Even the soldiers do not at all suffer the privations of which the Italian newspapers have spoken. I have seen that the soldiers have even better bread to-day than was distributed to them some time ago."

"A perfectly white bread," literally exclaimed Sartorio.

Then what about all that has been told us by the truthful Italian newspapers on the tremendous food crisis in the Central Empires?

—From "La Romagna Socialista" by A. BAGNARI.

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JOTTINGS.

During the debate on the War vote in the House of Commons on July 24th, a member ventured to voice his apprehension regarding the attitude of the workers. He pointed out that revolution was being fostered by a certain section of leaders of the people who ought to know better. He met workers who asked "are you prepared for the coming revolution?" He regretted that this insidious kind of talk was going on, and was being glibly preached at street corners, in the midst of this great war, "indeed, as one who had been so long a workman himself, nothing could be more deplorable to him than this glib talk of red revolution and the singing of the 'Red Flag' when they ought to be singing the praises of our men in the trenches."

Dear me! How they love the working class in this "democratically constituted" parliament of ours—at least that section of the working class which is not in khaki. (Whatever a man is, or has been, the mere act of donning khaki immediately converts him into a hero.) But what I like about the above is its bluntness. There is no mistaking that attitude. Its hatred of the working class is manifest. From every word or so the capitalistic venom usually permeating such utterances, "Suppression" is the key note. Yet it was uttered by a Labour member—R. Tootill.

Another of our "leaders"—J. G. Hancock, M.P. for Derbyshire, and agent for the Notts Miners—has announced his withdrawal from all association with the Labour Party in the Mid-Derby Division. Mr. Hancock has reason for his terrible sacrifice. It appears that it is "dominated by extreme Socialists," whatever that expression may mean. So far as the writer of these notes is aware, there is not an overwhelmingly large number of Socialists in Mid-Derbyshire, though we have hopes, of course. But I suspect he means the I.L.P., with whom he was connected, I believe. If that is so, then that is quite a different thing altogether. Yet, if he claims to be a "leader" of the working class, and is scared away by the "Socialism" of the I.L.P., what hope is there for the working class from such as he? What would have happened, I wonder, if he had been fortunate (or unfortunate) enough to be introduced to some real Socialists? . . . "Mr. Hancock places himself unreservedly in the hands of the Liberal Association." That's good. That's a more comprehensible statement, anyway. But— isn't it a distinction without a difference?

Everything that ever emanated from Germany is bad—from Goethe down to German sausage. The British Press says so, therefore it must be true. That being so, the Insurance Act, a German importation, stands condemned. That is, if one prefers to use the style of argument served up each morning in the Press. We are not altogether obliged to, however, as numerous instances in its mal-administration can be quoted to prove its rotten nature, whatever its source may happen to be. I purpose quoting one in support of the assertion. It must be borne in mind that the existence of such an Act depends upon the existence of poverty and servitude before it can operate.

At a recent meeting of the National Association of Trade Union Approved Societies, held in Manchester, a representative of the Amalgamated Weavers Approved Society from Heywood brought forward the case of a woman insured under the Insurance Act, whom, he said, five doctors had refused to attend in her confinement. The husband, it was stated, went to five medical men in succession, but each declined to attend on the plea that he was too busy. Finally the woman was taken to Bury Infirmary. The child lived only a short time, and the woman died four days after admission. The Secretary stated that the Association were satisfied that this sort of thing had been going on for some time.

The explanation of the conduct of these doctors lies in the fact that the poor woman was only one of the working class, one of the "common herd." That is but one feature of a system

for which we are fighting to maintain. Workers all over the world are pouring out their life's blood in order that the "right" to inflict every kind of indignity and torture upon us shall be the exclusive possession of one class—the master class.

This same measure, upon its introduction, was loudly acclaimed by our "labour leaders" as "the greatest Socialistic measure that has ever been placed before the House of Commons." I leave the reader to reconcile it if he can.

About on a par with the above was the brutal contempt shown for the workers in the answer given to a question by W. E. Anderson in the House of Commons, on the occasion of the discussion of the meat question. It was pointed out that arrangements were being considered or made in Glasgow, Dundee, Hamilton, and Aberdeen for sterilising parts of especially selected carcasses of tuberculous animals for sale as food to the general public. The "general public" in this case being the poorest section of the community.

Germany is now without a friend in the world, and this, according to Mr. Hoegger, the chairman of the Cotton and Wool Dyers' Association, is bound to cause Great Britain to have an enormous trade after peace is declared. This is comforting at any rate, because we workers were beginning to think we were in for a damn bad time. For an "enormous trade" will mean lots of work, and lots of work will mean lots of—grat. That's our portion.

"I should think," says Mr. Hoegger, (good, old British name, that), "there is surely no British dye-user who would demean himself, under any circumstances, to enter again into business transactions with a nation which has shown itself so utterly devoid of every moral, social, military and naval sense." ("Manchester Guardian," 23.5.17).

There is one factor which Mr. Hoegger himself appears to be "utterly devoid of," and that is "common" sense. Touching which the commercial Editor of the "Guardian" comments as follows: "Just now, we all feel like that, and many, we do not doubt, will maintain the feeling. Human nature, however, is in the aggregate incapable of doing it. We have seen in this war how the Japanese have come to the aid of the Russians, with whom they had a severe struggle not long ago, and the Russian Army, which may be taken to represent the populace, has lately shown anything but an undying hatred towards the Germans. If that is so with belligerents, is it not likely that the people of South America and of some other countries, too, will allow their resentment to die down pretty quickly? We have to remember that business is not done with nations but with individuals, and when peace comes we shall probably hear that while So-and-So would never think of dealing with the ordinary unspeakable German, they have no difficulty in resuming relations with their former connections, those people being really an exceptionally decent sort. The Germans will take care, of course, to offer goods at low prices, and if there is a financial advantage in buying them, after tariffs have been adjusted, it does not seem likely that they will be kept out of any country very long. Profit is a greater power than hatred."

Rev. Bernard Snell, chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, preaching at Brixton the other Sunday (8.7.17), favoured reprisals as an exercise of righteous anger. This was not the time for patience and self-control, but for letting their righteous anger have full sway in the only way that Germany understood. This gentleman evidently believes in a literal interpretation of the Mosaic dispensation. How insatiable in the matter of blood these Christian agents are, for sure! Give him an axe, somebody, and let him run amok.

Can the human intellect, which can provide so much wealth for destruction, devise no means of diverting that wealth to the happiness and well-being of humanity? Yes, by Socialism.

First of all let it be noted that our opponents cling desperately to the pronouncement our

"Compare the S.L.P. and the S.P.G.B. in their actions," says our contemporary. Well, suppose we do. In the first place we freely

"We have had many of our members on the Clyde imprisoned and deported for revolutionary propaganda," our contemporary says in course of proving their revolutionary character. "We have Editors, past and present, in gaol or under the shadow of gaol. (A former Editor—A. M'Nanus—was deported and again arrested for working-class activity in the recent strike.) All of which wears a different complexion when we remember that the S.L.P. "martyrs" to gaol in spite of abject contrition, and that M'Nanus, if reports be true, has taken the chair for Tom Mann, whom the S.L.P. has so roundly denounced upon occasion. "And our Press and organ have been under the ban of the military," our contemporary goes on, finally asking: "Do these things happen to a party which is pro-war, or anything but a revolutionary organisation?"

As a direct outcome of hunting comes the taming and breeding of sheep, goats, oxen and

At a very early period we find this to be the case with the tribal or clan chiefs and the "medicine men" or priests. The village commune, which has been and still is the typical social organism of primitive agricultural peoples of the world over (in its prime the most perfect organisation man ever evolved from the point of view of the material prosperity and social unity of its entire membership), had numerous officials which performed unproductive functions for the common good. These early cases of exemption from production, however, in no way violate that equality and freedom pervading primitive society which is the outcome of a common economic status among the members and their primordial bond of blood kinship. Thus the original character of the social group, as an organism existing (although unconsciously de-

This system was a basic institution of the ancient Oriental States - Hindustan, Persia, Egypt and China. In a somewhat specialised form (wherein the rulers declared themselves owners of the land and levied a forced "rent" in labour and kind but later in money) it was dominant and known as "feudalism" during

the "Middle Ages" of Europe. Although it has often existed side by side with chattel-slavery in the same community one or the other has usually predominated according to which of them circumstances were most favourable.

As these forms of slavery evolved, often placing the products of vast supplies of labour-power in the hands of a few individuals, inequalities of wealth became increasingly manifest in the ranks of the free class itself. In addition to "freemen" and "slaves" there soon developed categories of "rich" and "poor." Through the exchange of commodities luxuries of every kind were made accessible to the wealthy, awakening desires, which were a further stimulant to commerce. Money—the means of exchange—became a new social power, possession of which gave control over every product of man. In some cases usury and the mortgage widened the breach between the rich and the poor, for the impoverished debtors were often deprived of their last remaining possessions which were seized by the money-lenders. This occurred in Greece and Rome where the debtors were even sold into slavery.

But, above all, it was the merchants, those who lived solely by trade—skinning both producer and purchaser, who possessed this new power—gold, that glittering talisman of commodities. As they became more and more indispensable to the successful carrying on of the expanding trade, they gained an ever more complete control over industry, which thus tended increasingly to become the production of goods for sale alone, as distinct from the older method of producing for direct consumption. But production for the market involves a production varying in intensity, in the quantity of its products, according to the changes in the market, to the fluctuations in the demand for commodities.

Chattel-slavery, however, is not well adapted to the production of commodities. An owner of slaves will usually see that his slaves receive their maintenance whether they work "full time" or no time at all, for they are his property, they are *wealth*. We therefore find that, after a brilliant period of commercial progress up to a point, those ancient societies which depended on chattel-slavery at length reached the limits of their mode of production and industrial stagnation and decay set in. In the Southern United States we had a modern example of the same phenomenon.

With mediæval feudalism, however, it was different. The growth of commerce and the use of money tended to relieve the serf of all dues in direct labour by the substitution of a money rent. From the oppressed serfs of a feudal baron they became free peasants exploited by a land-lord. But for most of them this was only a temporary respite, for, under one pretence and another, the peasants were ejected from their holdings by the land owners and thus deprived of their means of livelihood.

This was exactly what the merchant manufacturers, just then springing up, required to gain the advantage over the old, guild-bound, handicraft system. They were able to employ these propertyless workers as *wage workers* when "business was brisk," discharging them when the demands of the market slackened, and, in this way, the production of commodities for sale in the rapidly expanding world-wide markets was made profitable.

Along these lines developed modern industrial capitalism with the labour system of *wage slavery* which thus constitutes the third great, historical method of exploitation.

As under chattel slavery and serfdom, the wage workers of to-day are compelled to render the fruits of their surplus energy to an idle class. The pressure used is less direct, but is, for that very reason, as we shall see, all the more effective. The system presupposes the monopoly of the wealth needed for production (land, raw material, machinery, etc.) by a small section of society. Those who have no means upon which to live must either starve or produce wealth for the property owners by using their means of production. This they do by selling their labour-power to the capitalists; and the price or wage they receive is determined by competition, rising and falling according to the supply of and demand for labour-power, but always hovering around the cost needed for self-maintenance and perpetuation. All they produce above this goes to the capitalist class who thus correspond to the slave-holders and oppressors of the older systems.

In this brief survey we have seen how society in its primordial form becomes broken into classes, exploited and oppressed, exploiters and oppressors. Our next section will attempt to show the effect of this upon the character of moral ideas.

R. W. HOUSLEY.
(To be Continued.)

HOW VICTOR FISHES FOR THE B.W.L.

The British Workers' League was originated by patriotic "Socialists" to encourage and assist the growth of the "right kind of Socialism." That it was "the right kind" was apparent from the moment they issued their first manifesto, which, being entirely in accord with capitalist ideas on the subject, received the hearty support of capitalist newspapers in general.

If we are to believe the glowing accounts of their successful propaganda, published in the "British Citizen and Empire Worker," it would seem that the organisation now needs but little support from the capitalist Press. Its numbers, according to the reports from its one hundred and more branches, are increasing so rapidly that, if the pace can only be maintained, the "right kind of Socialism" will cease to be a "dream of disordered imaginations," and will be shortly, if it is not already, quite sane and practical.

We need waste no time quoting extracts from the "B.C. and E.W." to illustrate what they designate "the right kind of Socialism." All that is necessary is to call to mind the various government experiments in the direction of nationalisation, and to remember how they have been boosted by the capitalist Press as Socialism and eulogised for their practical value to the capitalist State in a great crisis. Bearing this in mind, it is easy to see that capitalist newspapers could readily support the B.W.L., seeing that the B.W.L. first gave its support to the schemes they had themselves approved of. B.W.L. "Socialism" was "the right kind" because it met with the approval of capitalist authorities—who, being quite neutral and disinterested on the question, are in a position to give undisputed judgment.

Long before war made any "kind of Socialism" practicable there were men and parties advocating the B.W.L. kind. The peripatetic pimps and palliars of the I.L.P., the Clarion Scouts, the S.D.P., and the Fabian Society, mistook nationalisation for Socialism, and when a capitalist Government started nationalising, they shouted with glee. We had told them often enough that the ruling class, through its executive, would nationalise railways or anything else, if capitalist interests demanded it. But they had so accustomed themselves to think of State ownership or nationalisation as the millennium that its practical application by a capitalist government did not even arouse their suspicions. And although its application did not alter the status or condition of the workers, they shouted for more, many of them rushing straightway to the B.W.L. for membership cards that they might lend a hand in the establishment of Socialism (!) that was being precipitated so eagerly by the very class that looks upon it as poison to their system.

The only addition necessary to the stock-in-trade of the pre-war labour faker was a fervid patriotism—a quite simple matter for them, seeing that patriotism was supposed to be popular and the only thing in which labour leaders were consistent was in striving after popularity by advocating popular notions. This explains the much-boasted success of the B.W.L. They denounced everything German, from the Kaiser downwards. They boasted Empire—British, of course—for all it was worth—to the capitalist. Trade unionism is their special concern. "What would British trade-unionism be under the Hohenzollerns?" shrieked Victor Fisher to the chain-makers of Cradley Heath, who stood to lose nothing, not even the chains that were

never theirs, or the chains that bound them in servitude.

"Do not imagine," he wailed, "that you can lose your national independence and maintain your class organisation." As though "national independence" meant anything to these overwrought slaves, or class organisation were impossible under German capitalists.

If the assertions of capitalist agents, and pre-war Press reports, were worth anything, the class war was waged quite as vigorously in Germany as it was here. The German trade-unionists had the same freedom to organise as English trade-unionists. In fact, labour leaders here often looked to Germany, with its twenty labour dailies, as the advance guard of labour the world over. But quite independent of these facts, the class war must be fought out by the workers against the capitalist class of the world. If the purpose of class organisation is to wage the class war it does not matter a brass farthing whether we organise against English or German capitalists. On the other hand, if the working class of any country are too apathetic or spineless to stand erect against international capitalism, it does not matter a brass cartridge by whom they are enslaved and exploited.

The English working class, when it organises on class lines, can have but one object, to throw off the capitalist yoke. The German working class, opposed to a different group of the same capitalist class, can only prosecute the class war for the same object. For the working class, not only of these two countries, but of all countries, "national independence" is as dust in the balance compared with their great need for a real International.

National independence means nothing to the wage-slave because his poverty and degradation are the same in all the nations; his class organisation is everything to him because on its growth and perfection, and, above all, its international character, hangs the hope of working-class victory over sordid, tyrannical, and bloody capitalism, and the establishment of the one and only Socialism. F. F.

CONSCRIPTED FROM THE PRESS.

Strange as it may seem, there are good grounds for believing that the efforts of M. Kerensky to restore order are not viewed altogether with disfavour by certain influential persons in Berlin. These latter fear that a nation given over to the sway of Anarchy would make a bad neighbour.

—Reynolds's Newspaper, 5.8.17.

In other words the German capitalist class is afraid that the German working class may become "infected" and revolt against the conditions which are the cause of their misery, poverty, and degradation. Bismarck thought the same in 1871 when he helped Thiers and the French ruling class to crush and avenge in torrents of blood the working men's Commune of Paris. Despite their differences, the international parasite class are solid against the working class. When will the converse be also true?

The Japanese are working hard in anticipation of the coming peace. When the war is over they will flood the markets with much of the cheap goods that before could only be produced in sweated Germany. —Reynolds's Newspaper, 5.8.17.

And yet some fools talk about this being the "last war"! Was not the industrial efficiency and consequent cheap production of Germany the cause of her phenomenal commercial progress which was the chief of the immediate causes of the war? The capitalist class of England as well as that of Japan are wide awake to their opportunities, as can be seen in their schemes for the better co-ordination of scientific research with industry, and the more efficient education of the workers.

Greater efficiency in production—bigger profits—a larger surplus of goods for export—more competitors (Russia will rapidly develop)—fewer markets, leading to a wild scramble to capture them, and consequently—more wars. To those with eyes to see the ferment of future conflicts is even now in virulent progress. The question is, how long will the workers stand it

WANTS TO KNOW WHAT TO DO.

A CRITIC CONCERNED FOR OUR "SOUL" ANSWERED BY ONE WHO HASN'T GOT ANY.

Sir,—"F.F." in the August Socialist Standard puts an interesting question to Socialists, and then gives his only "solution." The question refers to the mean and slavish mind of the worker, how he does not think for himself on vital questions, and how his environment weakens and degrades his mind, the question being: "How to induce the toiler to think for himself." I suppose the question should be: "How to get the worker to think."

In "F.F.'s" "solution" he alleges lack of real knowledge and apathy on the part of the worker. To counteract or solve this he looks to "a Socialist party alive to its task," to a clear and easily understood Socialist position, to the avoidance of confusion and to the clearly defined and precisely stated object of this Socialist party.

This is rather well put, and if it were added that this Socialist party should be able to tell the worker what to do, one would be able to call it a "solution" of some merit. But I know of no such party, and Socialism is a long way off without it and withal needs it very badly.

Put all the "programmes" extant before our eyes, let alone before the apathetic worker, and there is nothing "clearly defined," "precise and easily understood," among any of them. Put all the programmes condemned by the S.P.G.B. aside and consider its own alone, and it is in the category of the others. I turn to the last page of the "S.S.," and I find platitudes, abstractions, ambiguities, and no way out of slavery, nothing to be done to get out of it excepting a faithful awaiting for something to turn up.

For instance, I read that class antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class . . . by the conversion into the common property of society (whatever that means) of the means of production and distribution and their democratic control by the whole people. I further read about the conquest of the powers of government and its usage as agent of emancipation and as an overthrower of privilege, and about the working class mustering under the banner of the S.P.G.B. for the speedy termination of poverty, privilege, and slavery. These are all fine-sounding phrases that signify nothing concrete, definite, plain, and well understood. Underneath them lies either a self-confessed inability to give clear expression of what it is driving at, or a confession that beyond the terms "emancipation," "common property of society," "conversion," etc., no other explanation is thought out or even dreamed of. As for "government" being the agent, democratic or otherwise, of emancipation and a kind of miraculous terminator of poverty by mustering under any body's banner is too thin to deceive.

What does it all mean? What is it to any live Socialist to for ever enunciate, iterate, and reiterate terms and phrases that have no backing of concrete acts which in themselves should constitute the very revolution? Will any working man be drawn by them? Can Socialism under the dead weight of these abstractions be anything more to a Socialist than Heavenly Bliss is to a Salvation Army lass? It can be less, for she believes she has her consummation when the bell of her demise tolls one!

A little introspection is good for the soul. [So stout a champion of the definite and concrete might have been a little more clear with regard to his last term.—Eds. "S.S."] I trust this letter will lead to a much-needed stock-taking.

Yours fraternally,

TOM RENNOLLS.

THE REPLY.

Mr. Rennolls is not to be complimented on the ability he has acquired of being able to read without comprehending what he reads. He says the question I put is "How to induce

the toiler to think for himself?" And he further "supposes" the question should be, "How to get the worker to think?" If, however, he turns to the article in question he will find that both his guesses are wrong. The actual question, or, rather, problem is put in a single continuous sentence: "How to induce the toiler to think for himself on the all-important question, 'Socialism versus Capitalism.'" And even if Mr. Rennolls, either unwittingly or to suit his argument, is prepared to cut a sentence in two and leave out what is necessary to make sense of it, he must, in common fairness, admit that the worker, before he can think intelligibly on this subject, must rouse himself, or be roused, from his apathy, and acquire some knowledge of the subject. The mere statement, "To get the worker to think," is nonsense unless we get him to think about something totally different to what engages his mind at the present. For, as was pointed out, though Mr. Rennolls failed to read and comprehend, every worker thinks, but his thoughts are mainly about work, how it should be done, or "how to dodge it," as the case may be. Anything else he thinks, politically or spiritually, is manufactured for him by capitalist agents. Even on the question of Socialism itself an army of agents is engaged to misrepresent it to him and prevent him from obtaining clear and rational ideas on the subject. Having failed to read or quote correctly, Mr. Rennolls's second point does not arise; because when the worker "thinks for himself on the all-important question, 'Socialism versus Capitalism,'" "what to do" is included, as a more careful reading of the "S.S." will prove to our critic.

But Mr. Rennolls, besides having a mote in his eye that—conveniently—blots out phrases and whole paragraphs when he reads as a critic, is possessed of a deplorable form of second sight; a creative faculty that "finds"—not on the printed page before him, but somewhere in the associated ideas of his own mind—just the very phrase or idea that he is in need of in his capacity of critic. I pass over his discovery of "platitudes, abstractions, and ambiguities," because he does not define what he means by them. But when he says that somewhere in our declaration of principles he finds the expression, advice, or even the insinuation, that there is "nothing to be done to get out of it, excepting a faithful awaiting for something to turn up," I pity him, not because he is blind, but because his sight is abnormal and his mind excessively imaginative.

But Mr. Rennolls' aliphshod methods do not end here; as he reads, so he quotes. Always, there is either something left out or added, something twisted or inverted, that alters the sense. As anyone can see by comparing his quotations with the Declaration of Principles, which, in itself, is the essence of the working-class position. Every paragraph and sentence is pregnant with axiomatic and scientific truth. If it errs at all, it is on the side of simplicity and clarity, which, of course, would be right for the average worker, but would constitute a stumbling-block for Mr. Rennolls and the Anarchists and Industrial Unionists whose phrases he has adopted. Simplicity is not for them: they delight in being recondite, notwithstanding their inability to translate their ideas and phrases into language intelligible to the man in the street—that is, of course, crediting them with the capacity to understand them themselves.

For instance, we are told that the S.P.G.B. "enunciate, iterate, and reiterate terms and phrases that have no backing of concrete acts which in themselves should constitute the very revolution." On the nature of these "concrete acts" Mr. Rennolls is silent. Why? Is he ashamed of the "direct action" piffle so often exposed in these columns? He might well be so when placed in comparison with the policy of the S.P.G.B.

Beside the Object and Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party, the Policies and programmes of every political party and economic organisation are mere shuffling and wasted energy, because they leave intact political control by the ruling class. Anarchists and Syndicalists may prate of Direct Action and Freedom, but they, and the workers with them, will remain nonentities in the working-class

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struggle for emancipation until they realise their slavery, recognise the means by which they are enslaved and take the necessary steps to control the forces that, to-day, control them. The source of power is the political machine; until the workers have control of that they are powerless to change their status or conditions; therefore we urge them to understand and organise for control of the political machine, that the power to transform society may be theirs, in spite of capitalist opposition. Where is another party that urges this obvious course—let Mr. Reynolds answer—we stand alone, and by that token are the only Socialist party. F. F.

THE PARTY FUNDS.

The recent debate in the House of Lords on the subject of the sale of parliamentary honours is of decided interest to those who are not acquainted with the inner workings of the political machine. Raised in debate by the Marquis of Salisbury, the ensuing discussion brought out some really delightful admissions of corruption in legislative channels. The admissions hardly come as news to seasoned Socialists, but this is one of the first occasions where the subject has been discussed at any length, many previous attempts to raise the matter, especially in the lower house, having signally failed.

The party funds, let it be here stated, are moneys contributed by financiers and rich business people for the purpose of securing recognition in "birthday honours" lists and the like for services rendered or expected. In the course of the discussion, however, mention was made as to the way in which the party funds were expended. Hilaire Belloc, a well-known character in jingo journals, has said that he resigned his seat in the Commons some years back owing to his disgust at party politics and "the party system generally."

In the course of his short career as a member of the Commons Belloc tried hard to raise the question of the expenditure of the party funds by asking for an audit, but needless to say, he failed. In his book the Party System is dealt with at some length, and much that we knew of legislative corruption is proved to the gaping world.

One of the richest morsels of the recent discussion came from Lord Curzon, who said with all the impudence possible:

The idea of a commercial transaction, of disposing of a peerage like a parcel of goods across a counter, is a horror to all right-thinking men. When such things are spoken of some of us are moving, however, in a world of which we know nothing. I know no foundation for these public rumours.

—*"Daily Express,"* 8.8.17.

His talk of "moving in a world of which we know nothing" may in a sense be true, for has not the great patriot Bottomley just said that "Sir Edward Carson is under the impression that the Rhine is the border of France and Germany" (*"Sunday Pictorial,"* 12.8.17), and that Mr. Balfour has "never heard of the kingdom of Bohemia"? (Same source.) Just previously, however, the noble earl had said:

... that but for the aid of party funds he would have been unable to enter political life, as neither his father nor he at that time was able to afford a parliamentary contest.—*Ibid.*

From which it will be seen that if he did not know where the party funds came from and why, he was not altogether ignorant of where they went and why.

Evidence that elections are contested by means of such funds was handed out by another noble lord, for listen to this:

Lord Charnwood said that he had contested several expensive elections and received help from the party funds, and was not in the least ashamed of having received it.—*Ibid.*

This, therefore, is the way the present-day politician rejoices in the sickening fraud of party politics. The average member of the back benches is merely a pawn in the political game, the real power coming from the front benches and the Ministers. In the matter of

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WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 10 Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

choosing the members of this front bench the workers have no part whatever. Small wonder that Ministers themselves were found describing the whole thing as "despicable."

When will the workers awake to a consciousness of their surroundings and, taking over the political machine in their own interests, sweep the whole tainted system from public life?

The present brief criticism is but a detail. Pages might be written in condemnation of the stinking mass of corruption. I will be content with quoting that clever reflection of Oscar Wilde's, who, upon the subject of "Critics and Criticism" said: "Surely in order to test the quality of a wine it is not necessary to consume the whole cask." B. B. B.

WORDS THAT BEAR REPEATING.

Having no quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow workers of all lands the expression of our good will and Socialist fraternity and pledge ourselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism.

The World for the Workers.

—S.P.G.B. Manifesto, September 1914.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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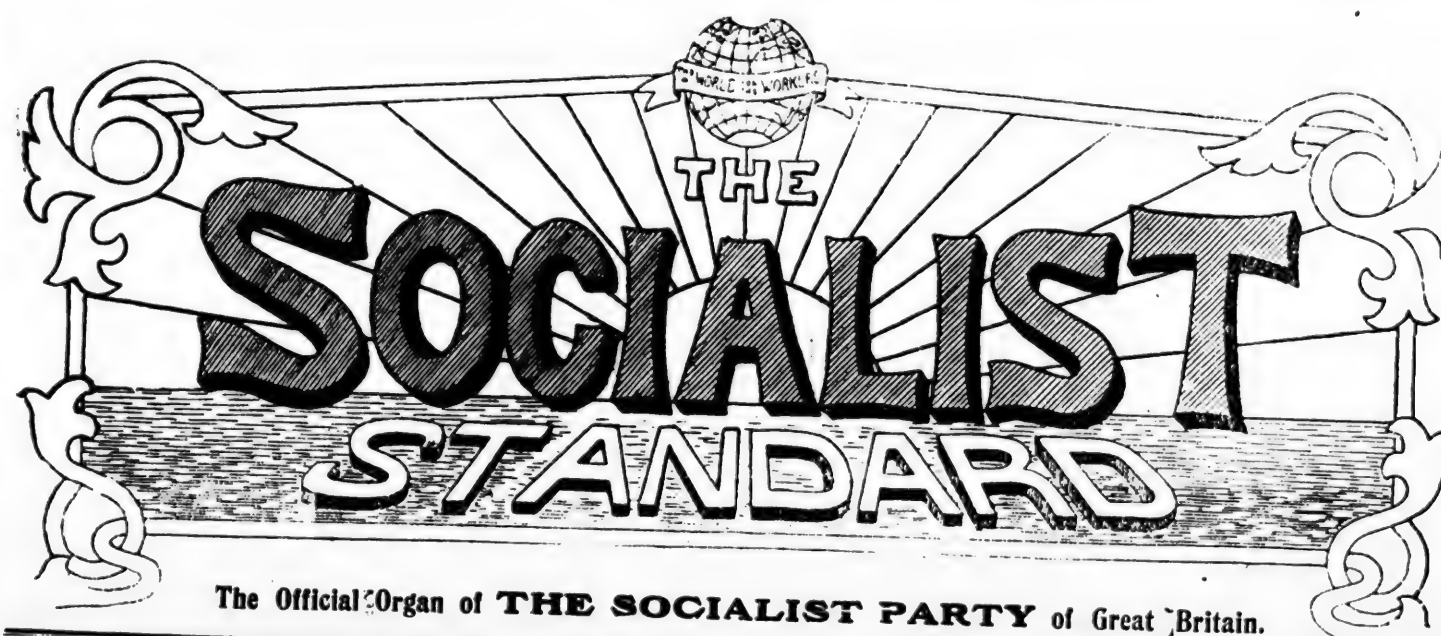
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

UTOPISTS NEW AND OLD.

WHERE THEY ALL FAIL.

Just now it is the fashion to prophesy or construct milleniums. Airy futures for society are everywhere in the air. When the taxi-cabs were carrying round appeals to the manhood of Britain to fight for King and Country, the capitalist Press, recapitulating the wrongs of the workers, printed in bold type and in italics, not once but a thousand times, "Never again." And the weak minded, blind leaders of the blind, thinking it a genuine repentance, a sincere resolve of the exploiting class to render a long-delayed justice to the class they had unconsciously wronged, thought the time had come for them to speak.

All the reformers of pre-war days—whether they realised the existence of the class war or not—were deceived, or made pretence of being deceived, by the "never again" cry. Had not Ministers of State and of religion—editors of great newspapers, and big captains of industry, said that the war had broken down class barriers, destroyed class antagonism, and made us one people, united and resolved on a common object?

The innocent, unsuspecting reformer, bleeding inwardly for the toiling, suffering poor, took them literally, and out of the chaos of a million suggestions and a few hundred thousand policies for "lifting up the working classes," extracted half-a-dozen or so, and built up his Utopia, his dream of a social reconstruction. Every newspaper was inundated with letters containing suggestions for the re-organisation of industry on such a basis that antagonism and discord would be eliminated once and for ever.

So genuine were the editors in their "never again" determination that they even went so far as to encourage them by publication, thus giving to the whole discussion of re-organisation—for the time—a serious nature.

Which attitude still further deceived, or encouraged, the simple Simons of the labour movement who, while they hurled their thunder at the "profiteers," proclaimed the millenium (after the war) because the "public" had recognised the wrongs of the workers and were determined to right them. They never stopped to ask themselves who or what was the "public." That question had been answered for them by the captains and agents of the "profiteers" (exploiters disguised as robbers of the consumer). Classes no longer existed, but the capitalists, some of whom were "profiteers" and some just capitalists, under the stress of military conditions, were prepared to discuss any wild-cat scheme if its discussion would convince the workers of their sincerity to reform. Because just then it was necessary that capital's intolerant and brutal past should be replaced in the mind of the workers by the promise of a golden future.

For over a century—ever since the days of Fourier—the workers had been regaled with smoothly-working, ready-made Utopias that were full of promise and nothing else. They had learned to scoff at them, so much so that when Socialism was first placed upon a scientific basis and presented to them, they mistook it for another reformer's dream, and where they took any interest in it at all, tried to subject it to ridicule, only to find that, boomerang-like, it came back and settled on themselves.

We know from experience and history that the capitalist in his relations with the workers, studies no interests but his own; that the capitalist class, in itself, presents an impassable barrier to all experiments in social re-construction. Consequently both capitalist and reformer are discredited, and suggestions, like that of Lord Leverhulme for a six hours day, where they do not provoke a smile, are regarded by us as deep-laid plots to further enslave the workers.

Those who have read Fourier's Utopia, with its beautiful gardens and its costumes of cloth and gold, will recognise the genus Utopia whenever they meet it. Robert Owen's well-intentioned efforts, the exchange of products by labour tickets that followed it, and the dream of co-operators to gradually absorb industry are Utopias that have had their day—though the last-named, snowed under and insignificant in comparison with the forces they set out to absorb, can still boast a number of members prepared to play the role of fanatic in a movement long ago captured by the capitalists.

The more modern Utopias, like the "New Theology," lack the wealth of detail that characterised their predecessors. Their founders can only escape ridicule and preserve a semblance of dignity by the utterance of highly embellished phrases and vague abstractions that seem to convey a solemn portent, but, when analysed, are found to contain nothing but wind—or ink. Thus the National Guilds' League says:

Therefore if the control of industry is in any measure and in any real sense to pass to Labour, it must be, not by any impossible endeavour to co-operate with employers on joint bodies, but by the transference of powers absolutely to bodies exclusively representative of Labour. The right and only path to such control is for Labour to demand and secure exclusive control, first within the sphere of the workshop, and then increasingly over a wider and wider domain.

Of course, everybody knows that, to get control—or anything else—all that is necessary is to "demand and secure it." Many would dispense with the "demand" and proceed straightway to the securing, if the road were clear and there were no police. But the road is not clear. The police are there, and they take their orders from the class that is jealous of every threatened encroachment or advance by the workers. With

physical force arrayed against them, and a bitter competitive struggle, always intensifying, frustrating all their efforts on the industrial field, it is not surprising that the best organised workers not only fail to make any advance, but on the contrary, find themselves drifting from bad to worse, while the feeling of impotence grows on them.

The Syndicalist and the Industrial Unionist are examples of the modern Utopians. They sketch the plan of a future State and pretend to trace its consummation from such ordinary trade union actions as the strike, with a long series of stepping-stones between. Every stepping-stone is a new kind of drill invented by the economic quacks to educate and perfect the workers in the art of striking, which they tell us will, more often than not, mean only the threat to strike. Even when the workers have learned the whole series, of striking by companies, battalions, industries, and nationally and internationally; when they have learned all the things which they are told they must demand, and organised themselves according to the doctrine of "direct action," they must still go through with the whole senseless performance, still practice the goose step, till the signal goes forth from their economic leaders to "take and hold." In that supreme moment the bubble, pricked by the State sword, bursts, and the millenium is postponed sine die.

But long before the economic quacks can "take and hold" the workers the latter will wake to the absurdity of such methods. Their propaganda only meets with success where they continually denounce the "politicians." They would have us think that it is only the political labour leader that turns Judas. But what would the ruling class not give, in the coming years of market fluctuations, of alternate periods of feverish production and stagnation, to have under their control working-class leaders who could persuade or command their wage-hungry legions to cease work or re-commence, just as the markets dictated. Thus treachery dogs the footsteps of the workers, whether they chase the industrial will-o'-the-wisp or follow the politician. For the leaders on both fields can and do betray the workers into actions and policies that run counter to their own interests. Their glittering Utopias, plausible policies, and subtle arguments, sway the worker to his own undoing because he is ignorant of the very elements of political economy.

If this were not so "The Herald" could not impose upon many the "New Charter for the Workers," which is claimed to be "thorough, bold, practical." Those who have read Fourier and St. Simon will acknowledge they were thorough and bold, though they were not practical. Those who read the "New Charter" will find absurdities, contradictions, and fruitless

demands, but they will seek in vain for the qualities with which they describe their own programme.

Their first item, "Conscription of wealth and £1 a day," may be bold as demands go, but it is not thorough because it still leaves the workers wage-slaves. Neither is it practical, because the New Chartists, like the old ones, are relying on a capitalist government to inaugurate it. The second item, "Ownership by the State, management by the workers," has the same objections, while in addition it preserves the capitalist State and perpetuates the working class, making it responsible for production. It is neither thorough nor bold, because it is not even suggested that the means of production should be owned in common and democratically controlled.

Their third, "An Industrial Chamber: Abolition of the Lords," links them up in its latter part, with the B.S.P. and the Liberal Party, while its first part acquiesces them of collusion with the working class, because they say "Labour and Professional bodies [would] thus become a constituent part of the country's government," thus reaffirming their intention that the workers must remain a *governed class*, instead of becoming a co-operative commonwealth producing for use and administering through assemblies in their own interests.

Their fourth, "Self-Government and a Living Wage for Soldiers," is evidently a bait for the Army, though why soldiers should be content with a mere living wage when civilians would have their pound a day does not transpire.

Self-government is evidently gleaned from the Council of Soldiers and Workmen, and the extreme simplicity of the New Chartists becomes apparent when we read further the demand for "Democratisation of the Army and Navy (so long as they exist) by the effective representation of the rank and file in all military and naval administrations *not dealing with strategy*." Blind leaders are the New Chartists who would hand over their blind followers to be massacred wholesale on the plea of strategy!

But this is not all. After anticipating the conceding of the vote to women by baiting for that vote with number five—"Payment of Wives"—they urge as their sixth and last, "The Workers Organised Against War."

In number four they would strengthen the Army and increase its efficiency, while in six they would organise to make it useless.

Such are the glittering beads with which this Utopian necklace is strung. Taken separately they seem to be either culled from other capitalist programmes or impracticable and futile absurdities. A jumble of pre-war reformist plans, faked and modified as a lure to the workers and a demand to the master class. Because these Chartists fail to understand the economic basis of capitalist society they can only build their policies and programmes in accordance with capitalist notions and within the ring of capitalist ethics and standards. With every change in capitalist methods reforms become obsolete, and capitalist agents are not slow to invent new ones to dangle before the noses of the patient masses. Thus reformers and dreamers sheltered from the maelstrom of capitalist production and blind to all indications of a class war increasing in bitterness, pick and choose here and there the materials to build their Utopias, as children build a house of cards that tumbles into ruins with the approach of something real and solid.

Fourier's coloured panorama, Shaw's "State Socialism," "The Guild Idea," and the "New Charter for the Workers," are the fantastic bubbles thrown to the surface by the forces that contend in the depths of capitalist anarchy. Ephemeral productions of impractical dreamers, they dissolve with a touch of ridicule, or burst and scatter before the ever-broadening stream of science. Their glory is only for a day—the day while the workers believe that all is gold that glitters.

But their eyes will weary of watching empty bubbles. They will not always gaze where the finger of the charlatan points to the millennium coming to meet them. Their faith in leaders, already straining to breaking-point, will one day snap, and, seeing themselves for what they are, the victims of a ruling class, they will recognise

with us that they alone can work out their destiny. Then will they learn with astonishment that for over seventy years their class position and the road to emancipation has been clearly defined and within their reach.

F. F.

"MURDER WILL OUT."

It is curious what strange instruments truth at times will find by which to express itself. This reflection is strengthened by a letter in that "organ of the Democracy," "Reynolds's Newspaper" (Sept. 3rd.) from "Recruiting Sergeant" Ben Tillett to the members of the Dockers' Union.

This budding field marshal is reported to have said, among other things, in reference to the proposed International Conference:

We are of the opinion that before any meeting is possible the organised Labour of each belligerent country should first of all define its attitude by democratic vote, that its representatives should be purely Labour representatives, and under no Government patronage, with a view of free expression of opinion.

That this Conference upholds the rights of democracy to its share of representation in determining peace settlement, and invites the democracies of all the belligerents to co-operate with a view of ending the tragedy of the war.

"General" Tillett is greatly concerned that the Labour representatives shall be "purely" Labour representatives. This, to start with, knocks out all the "labour" members of the Government, and also all those who, during the period of the war, have assisted the Government—directly or indirectly, officially or unofficially—in the task of roping in the workers for war purposes, including Henderson, Hodge, and of course, Tillett himself.

As for the suggestion that the Conference upholds the "rights of democracy to its share of representation in determining peace settlement," the governing class will allow the workers as much voice in the peace settlement as highwaymen allowed their victims in the matter of their robbery.

But seriously, the desire of the labour "leaders" to take part in the function of cutting up the swag, shows that they either do not understand the slave position of the working class, or that they deliberately misrepresent it. In the first case they are fools, in the second case rogues, and in either case they are of no use to the workers.

It is the mission of the propertyless class—instead of seeking to participate in the division of the spoils—to see to it that there shall be no spoils. To do this they must put an end to the exploitation of the producers by the non-producers, i.e., the capitalists.

It is the duty of the workers to achieve a *real peace*—a peace guaranteed by the identity of interest of all the members of society in contrast with the "peace" hitherto prevailing. Such a peace can only be obtained by the realisation of the Object of the Socialist Party.

We are further told that "We can only end the war by striking at militarism" (not capitalism). But here comes the gem of the letter: "The genuine working-class movement must take its affairs out of the hands of *political adventurers and parasites*, take its destinies in both hands, and ask organised Labour in all lands to war against militarism, repression, and annexation, and to be prepared to enforce this should occasion arise."

This is a brilliant example of the devil rebuking sin, for what are Tillett and his colleagues but "political adventurers and parasites," out to lead the workers up a blind alley, where they may be the more easily victimised and exploited? Evidence of this can easily be found in the various issues of this journal, and also in our Manifesto.

An additional instance of this is furnished by Tillett himself in the final sentence of his epistle, in which he advocates the use of the "industrial and economic weapon," ignoring the political weapon.

It is reported in the "Daily Sketch" for September 1st 1917 that the Australian Government had suppressed the I.W.W. in Australia, and imprisoned some of its members. Can a

better object lesson in the necessity for political action by the workers be needed?

In a series of interviews during the T.U.C. Mr. Tillett is reported to have said re Stockholm, "How can there be democracy without a defined policy?" This, from a man of Tillett's record, is almost Gilbertian, or would be if it were not so tragic.

Is it necessary to recall the famous prayer on Tower Hill, when Tillett hoped that "God" would strike the late food controller dead, and to compare that with his attitude since the war? During this period we find him using his energies to the utmost in the dirty work of getting other people to fight and kill each other, taking on this job under the auspices of a government a prominent member of which was his one-time enemy, Lord Devonport.

Is this Tillett's idea of a "defined policy"? However, such contradictory actions are common to all reformers. Forever chasing will-o'-the-wisps, they are forever getting deeper into the mire of capitalism.

HUTCH.

REALITIES: PRESENT AND FUTURE.

O.O.

We Socialists are often replied to by those to whom we expound our political and economic principles and beliefs: "Yes, no doubt Socialism would be a very fine thing if it could only be brought about, but it cannot—it is only a beautiful dream."

We accept such statements as a challenge from all those who hold those ideas. I hope in this short article to confront doubters with facts and shatter once for all their dreamy misconceptions of Socialism by dealing with realities. I believe they do not understand Socialism because they do not primarily understand the present system: capitalism.

The vast majority of the people in every capitalist country in the world belong to a class who have to work for their living. But a proportionately very small class are free from such necessity. Why? Simply because they can obtain all they need without work—from the labour of the workers.

These fortunate individuals who are not under the necessity of working for their living amass wealth in ever-increasing accumulation. In contradistinction the position of the wealth producers generally does not improve, in fact, it tends to become worse. December 31st of any year finds them, in spite of wise expenditure, frugality, temperance, and all the enforced wisdom of economic stress, no better off than on January 1st of the same year. And all their laborious lives are spent in wealth production, yet, as abundant statistics prove, they live and die in poverty—often as paupers.

Their "earthly pilgrimage" is like nothing so much as the toiling existence of a beast of burden compelled to go round and round in the same allotted circle, grinding corn. In the fact that they receive just sufficient to enable them to perform their task, the workers are exactly like these animals. They, too, are looked upon by the owning and ruling capitalist class simply as wealth producers, to be exploited in every sphere of labour, and, when it is necessary, to be forced to defend their masters' interests against those of rival exploiters, even at the cost of their lives. In fact, in a very real sense, not only the means of existence, but even the very lives of vast multitudes, are owned and controlled by this small but extremely powerful and dominant group of non-producers whom we call the capitalist class. They possess the land and all the means and instruments of wealth production, distribution, and exchange. Not only that—they sit in the "seats of the mighty," completely control the making of the laws—which, of course, are always enacted to conserve their own class interests—and thus economically and politically are, in every sense of the word, the Master Class.

The masses have to live, and having nothing to operate in their own interests, owning no means of production, possessing only their power to labour, they are compelled to sell that labour-power to those who possess the means through which alone it can be productively

used. So they must work under the terms and conditions dictated by their masters.

They who with their labour produce the whole of the world's wealth, have given back to them on an average about a third of the amount they produce. Their portion is called wages. The remaining two thirds are appropriated by the idle capitalist class in the form of rent, profit, and interest. These latter are the means by which parasitic non-producers of all kinds are enabled to live in luxurious idleness. Financiers, dividend holders, capitalists, and all who live on the labour of others, exist on the wealth they themselves have no share in producing.

The consequence is this system of wage slavery produces a host of social evils of the most appalling type, such as unemployment, sweating, prostitution, poverty, starvation, disease, and untimely death.

Consider! All the marvellous mechanism, tools, and means of production that exist to-day—means that enable wealth of all kinds to be produced in prolific abundance—have been made by and are operated by the workers. Yet we continue to see the damning indictment of the present system daily—starvation in the midst of plenty; overwork for those who starve, ennui through unbroken idleness for those who possess the world; unemployment side by side with sweating; abundant opportunities for all-round development for the favoured class, and deprivation of access to all that life should give them for the workers, whose lives are compulsorily wasted by the all-compelling exigencies of a vicious system. All the channels of knowledge, the wisdom of the ages, the finest triumphs of man in the domain of art, literature, music, and science should by right be available to them, for it is they who produce the material foundation from which all these spring.

Alas, the workers are wage slaves! The wealth stolen from them has been the means of their enslavement. The capital which is used against them to produce wealth and also yet more capital they alone produced. Now they are slaves of the machine. They are poor because they are continually robbed; they are continually robbed because this social system, founded upon their robbery, continues to exist. They are only sellers of their labour-power, enriching others at their own expense, forever sacrificing their own desires, interests, aye, existence, that the exploiters may exploit them, and the plutocrat continue to plunder them! What irony! And yet non-Socialists say it will always be so!

But will it? Let us examine the facts. We have considered the realities of the present system. Hear now the claim we as Socialists make.

We claim that we are the only people who show the workers that they hold the key of their emancipation in their own hands, that they alone can set themselves free.

The present system of production tends, as fact after fact goes to prove, to produce its own undoing. The rich as a class grow richer, the poor ever poorer. The more labour-saving machinery is in operation the more wealth is produced by a given number of workers. Consequently an ever greater number of workers are thrown out of employment through "over production." The pressure of these unemployed tends ever to depress wages and the conditions of labour. Less successful people of the small capitalist ranks are gradually forced into the proletariat, and so capital is concentrated into fewer and fewer hands, making ever more uneven the ratio between the exploited and the exploiters. As Capital wields greater power the conflict of class interests grows ever stronger, and Labour consolidates its forces and the struggle becomes more class conscious and bitter.

Now it will be seen that this system automatically produces its own opponents—the proletariat or propertyless working class—and also the incentive for the latter to wrest from the capitalists the power to exploit and oppress.

Now here is the crux of the whole question: how are the master class to be stripped of their terrible and oppressive power? Other things being equal, the men who succeed best in accomplishing their purpose are those who know exactly what they want to do and how best to do it. First of all, then, the victims of the

LENGTHENING OUR EARS

O.O.

Whenever the master class lecture we ignorant workers upon the subject of education we are treated to a goodly smattering of nonsense. There is, seemingly, no exception to the rule in the case of Viscount Harberton, whose book, "How to Lengthen Our Ears" has just been described by the "Daily News" (30.8.1917) as "entertaining." The Viscount is said to have concluded that "modern education is ridiculous." La Rochefoucauld, however, reminds us that: "Mediocrities usually condemn everything that passes their understanding." Perhaps a perusal of two specimens of the Viscount's deductive drivel will serve to show what noble products are being sent forward by "our" public schools and universities. It may also show how and why our masters sustain such crushing reverses in public debate whenever they venture upon the public platform to attempt the overthrow of scientific Socialism, expounded by members of the working class. Try this:

"Educated England," says the author in a severe passage, "is not represented by Herbert Spencer, but by Viscount Milner, Dr. Macnamara, and George R. Sims."

That the dear Viscount is unable to extract any material good from Spencer's "Principles of Sociology," or his "System of Synthetic Philosophy," is quite understood, for here we find a disposition to shed light through the lying, romancing medium of antiquated capitalist teachings. But to bracket Spencer with Milner, Macnamara, and the "Tacho" man is surely running to the limits of present-day stupidity.

A further extract, in fairness to this new philosopher, will serve, not only to enlighten us, but additionally to point out from whom we should take pattern:

Of the late Mr. William Whiteley the author says "a nation could more easily dispense with Gibbon, Goldsmith, Wordsworth, and Swinburne than such productions as Whiteley's."

Poets have not done much to encourage a correction of long-endured economic and political superstitions, but the present scribe does think they have contributed more essentially to the fruits of this life than a hundred thousand "universal providers."

If one were not actually aware of what university and public school teaching consists one might think the Viscount bereft of common sense, but knowing that some three-quarters of a million pounds are annually expended almost exclusively to the upkeep of what is described by Lankester as "two huge boarding houses," one is not astonished. These classical colleges are only open for twenty-one weeks in the year, yet the majority of so-called public appointments are reserved for graduates of the universities and "public" schools.

Our noble viscount is purely a product of present-day capitalist thought. For such folk the teachings of the Roman poet Lucretius, or those of Epicurus, have no charm or significance. They are beyond his own limited reasoning. He is not concerned with cultivating the brain, but merely, as the title of his book shows, with lengthening the ears. Small wonder, then, that our viscount hands out the laurel wreath to Whiteley of Westbourne Grove, secure in the knowledge that at least the trust merchant "made good," even though it did accrue from other people's brains.

No! I do not think our Spencers, our Huxleys, and our Darwins, need turn in their graves by reason of this puny attempt at ridicule. Education in this country—and it has had some terrific buffetings since war commenced—has not reached that stage, more especially from a capitalist standpoint, wherein the semi-taught are calculated to hold the lamp of knowledge in criticism over the geniuses of science, art, and literature. Huge tombstones may be erected to the idle capitalist bosses, but as one great wit has said: "If some men could rise from the grave and read the complimentary lines on their tombstones a goodly number would think they had gone into the wrong holes." B. B. B.

Every word of Socialism dropped anywhere has its effect, and makes its crater on the enemy's front.

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And the day of peace *must* be a day of reckoning. We must see to that. The opportunity will be unique. The stupendous crime of the international capitalists will come fully home to their victims when they find that all their sacrifices have left them simply where they were, facing the old familiar evils, whose only change is their aggravated form. Capitalist politics and politicians, then, from the Liberal and Tory super-lords to the "labour leaders" prosperously reeking in their treachery, will be ripe for utter discredit. Our day will become

In the above Engels answers men of the Begbie type, and I hope that the working class will gather understanding from history, ancient and modern, and not be led astray by sentimental talk about the "rich and the poor" being "of one mind and one spirit." Beware of men who talk about reconciliation between the working class and the master class. That is impossible. The only firm ground upon which the working class can successfully stand is the full recognition of the class war and the determination to fight on to the end—the Social Revolution; the inauguration of Socialism.

E. J.

Although savages and barbarians have long been outrageously misrepresented by ignorant and antagonistic invaders, thieving traders and

Fridtjof Nansen says: "For the Esquimo it is as special value that he should be able to rely on his fellows and neighbours. In order, however, that his mutual confidence, without which common action in the battle for life is impossible, should continue, it is necessary that he should act honourably to others as well," and remarks about their truthfulness, which is a necessary factor in this. Veniaminoff, the Russian missionary, wrote, that the Aleoute is with difficulty moved to make a promise, but once he

So-called secret societies within the tribe also a widespread feature. There are male "societies" and female "societies" into which young people on "coming of age" are initiated and taught under the presidency of aged and experienced the duties of their (hunting and fighting methods, the development of endurance, etc., for males; domestic work and the management of children for females) together with the "mysteries of life." As, however, everything is accounted for by spirit action or magic, the activities of the societies are frequently largely made up of cate ceremonies, propitiation of spirits, sacrifices and other rites, all of which must be kept the strictest secrecy.

Innovation is an insult to the gods—it is
mortal, for the outraged ancestors will visit

The widespread view, to which we have made previous reference, that a people's ethical code is ordained by God arises in the above way, for gods are, in fact, only exalted ancestral spirits.

their wrath upon the tribe. In primitive society, no matter how a practice originates, it tends to harden into a habit rigidly and religiously adhered to. Morality is identified with custom—that which is customary is right, if it is uncouth it is wrong. This veneration for practices ages old makes very difficult, sometimes impossible, the understanding of many a moral custom where the real needs which brought it into existence have long passed away.

The "closeness" of primitive man's societies—the importance given to blood kinship and the intolerance and hatred of strangers is reflected in his religious views. As Edward Jenks says in his excellent little "History of Politics," "The view that their ancestors belonged to them alone, naturally made the tribesmen very jealous of strangers acquiring any knowledge of their forms of worship." (P. 38.) Therefore the ritual was kept strictly secret, and it was the blackest treachery to reveal its mysteries to strangers, who would only mock and blaspheme.

The belief in spirits is the cause of some of the most peculiar practices and moral ideas of primitive man. Attention to the requirements of the dead is a profound duty. Tools, weapons, and animals are buried or burned with the corpse for the use of the spirit. Food and drink must be provided in the shape of offerings made at the grave. Human and animal sacrifices are made. Charms are worn to ward off evil spirits—the ghosts of aliens. Human spirits are believed to enter the bodies of certain animals and trees which then become "taboo"—objects of respect and fear which it is awful sacrilege to destroy or injure. But the effects of savage superstition are almost endless in their number and variety so that the above sketchy indications must suffice.

The social organisation, therefore, of man in savagery and lower barbarism, together with the morality which therefrom flowed was based as the above testifies upon the principle of mutual aid and communal support in its every aspect. No class interests marred its unity despite its many (to most moderns) anomalous and absurd characters. Moral theory and practice were identical, modern conventional "morality and corresponding hypocrisy was unknown—the "age of cant" was not yet. This was only acquired during his "rise to civilisation" which will be our next consideration.

R. W. HOUBLEY.

BY THE WAY.

The contempt of the master class for the workers is seldom so clearly shown as in the discussion which took place on foreign policy prior to the House of Commons adjourning for the summer recess. Several speakers had been presenting the point of view that foreign policy is the exclusive affair of the foreign office, and, as a contemporary states, that everybody else ought to be kept off the sacred grass. It goes on to say that "The time has gone by for the Cecils or any other governing family to expect the people to put their trust blindly in them and their officials. Lord Hugh Cecil, in a lofty lecture to the workers on their unfitness to meddle with foreign policy, says:

Labour is quite unfit mentally and by training to deal with the questions that will come under discussion; in fact, I would as soon send a child of three up in an aeroplane as let the Labour Party send delegates to Stockholm.

The article continues "Labour is fit to fight and die by the hundred thousand, but it is not fit to decide for itself what it shall fight and die for." It is preposterous to pretend that the millions of workers can be treated like children, and given the war or the peace that the high priests think good for them. It is theirs to do and die: It is also theirs to know the reason why." ("Star," 18.8.1917.)

We move even though slowly. It is at last beginning to dawn upon some that those who are called upon to do the fighting, and also the suffering, should likewise know what the trouble is all about; that they should no longer be the pawns of kings and diplomats; and why they

should continue to offer themselves upon the altar for capitalist gain. For, after all, to the imprisoned wage slave what does it matter what kind of flag sets the seal to his slavery?

The gratuitous insult hurled at the workers by the "cultured" Lord is an eloquent example of the narrowness of vision of our masters and pastors. The workers are fit mentally and by training to produce wealth, which they hand over to the employing class, and which ensures a life of ease and idleness to the Cecils and their tribe. Some day ere long we hope to see the workers rise triumphant in their might and throw the parasites from off their backs and end forever the domination of these noble nonentities.

The assumption of the Cecil type of individual that they and they alone are the people fit to rule and shape the destiny of mankind is easily seen to be false by even the most cursory glance at current events. One has only to briefly examine such things as the munitions muddle, the food question, and so on, to observe what frightful confusion they have brought into being. The crowning infamy of all is to be found in the Mesopotamian Commission Report (published at 2s.), which is a sorry spectacle of lack of business ability and mediocre mentality of those entrusted with the campaign. At a future date I hope to give some extracts.

In the "Evening News" (7.8.1917) I read: "The paper used by the British and Foreign Bible Society for its cheap editions of the Scriptures cost just 2d. a lb. in pre-war times." It would be interesting to know what the pay of the workers producing paper to be sold at 2d. per lb. at a profit might have been in those far-off days. Was it a case of getting their reward in "heaven"?

The same source informs all and sundry that "The Clergy of Willesden Parish Church have been granted war bonuses." Evidently a case of "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush."

The new honours list is an interesting document. How the capitalist powers that be estimate the value of the labour misleaders is clearly shown in the lavish bestowal of these new honours. One error seems to have occurred. Should not they have been created "Dames" of the order? A good reference to some of them occurs in an article in the "Daily News" (25.8.17) which asks:

Is it seriously possible to pretend that Mr. Appleton, for instance, or Mr. Havelock Wilson have performed services to the Empire so conspicuous that they deserve recognition which is not conferred on the mass of men who have been fighting abroad for the last two or three years?

Verily they have deserved the "Well done thou good and faithful servant" of the capitalist class in so far as they have diverted the attention of their dupes from things that really matter.

A farewell dinner was recently given to the departing Premier of New South Wales. As is usual at these functions a large amount of gas was let off. One of the English Labour members, Mr. G. N. Barnes, in supporting the toast of Mr. Holman's health, delivered himself of the following:

He did not agree with the talk about "class consciousness." He never endorsed the phrase nor had he any sympathy with those who talked on those lines, because class consciousness and class war engendered bitterness and an atmosphere of suspicion, out of which nothing good could come. There was something infinitely superior, and that was social consciousness.—"Daily News," 28.8.17.

Of course, when one attains to such heights as Cabinet rank it is quite easy to understand how respectable such people become. But surely the time has arrived when the workers should take a leaf from the book of the masters, and look to their CLASS interests—the only class that matters is the working class. The master class organises along class lines, though some may be Liberal while others are Conservative, yet they combine in order to dominate and rob the workers. Just prior to the war our liberty-loving masters established a 50 million pound

fund wherewith to fight labour, proving conclusively thereby the existence of the CLASS WAR, which our sycophant "friend," Barnes, deprecates hearing anything about during the war. To-day there is "national unity"; the labour leader decoys are busy kidding the lambs of labour to lie down with the capitalist lion.

The "class war engenders bitterness," and it is our aim to accentuate this. Would Barnes have us kiss the hands of his cold and callous capitalist friends who strike us? Let him read the history of the working class under capitalist rule—a long chapter of oppression and murder most foul and bloody. Let him give up also speaking in the name of labour. Labour is sick unto death of him and his kidney.

One of the facts we Socialists frequently point out is that rates of wages are determined by the cost of living, and it is interesting and instructive to receive confirmation of this from capitalist sources. When the Corn Production Bill left the Commons the minimum rates were to be fixed by the Agricultural Wages Board appointed for the whole country. This Board was to receive advice from the District Wages Committee, but was not to be bound by it. The Lords reversed the position of the central and local bodies, and the "Daily Chronicle" (20.8.1917), commenting on this says:

The change has doubtless been made to please the farmers, who can expect to overbalance the local committees much more easily than the Central Board. It is a disastrous change, not merely for that reason, but because the Central Board alone could be expected to make a really scientific survey of the question, and to fix rates not by higgling and guesswork, but in the light of thorough data as to cost of living, prices, cottage rents, and the wages paid in other industries. The whole of the large experience now available from the fixing of minimum wages under the Trade Boards Act tells dead against the transfer from the centre to the locality proposed by the House of Lords. There is really nothing to be said for it, except that it is a cleverly disguised class-maneuvre in the interests of the agricultural employers.

Another instance of the Press letting the cat out of the bag.

From a review of a book entitled, "Under Fire," I call the following which states there is nothing in war except "frightful and unnatural weariness, water up to the belly, mud and dung and infamous filth . . . befouled faces . . . tattered flesh" (Daily News, 17.8.1917.) Some opportunity yet for the fight to a finish-typic of person to sample the above, not in picnic tours to the front but in real equality of sacrifice style. "Greater love hath no man," etc., we have heard a lot about. Deeds not words, my masters.

The war for freedom, honour and truth brings in its wake a steady yet persistent policy of suppression and doctoring of news items. This is only part of what takes place, for in addition to the above there is another feature, that of "elaborating" what are called successes. In the columns of the "Daily Telegraph" (13.9.1917), under the heading "Inaccurate War News," their New York correspondent states:

The Publicity Department of the Admiralty at Washington, established to give "war news," yesterday announced that American warships off the coast of France in one fell swoop had sunk six submarines. Naturally we had special editions, and joybells rang everywhere. In succeeding reports, however, the sinkings diminished from six to one, and regarding that one there is much doubt. . . . In the case of the Fourth of July victory, Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Admiralty, and Mr. Creel, the department's publicity agent, both highly successful newspaper reporters in their day, admitted that there had been some "elaborating," but not enough to justify severe criticism.

In the case of yesterday's "victory," the censor's man is blamed for reading one submarine as six. It is admitted that there was no wilful intent to misrepresent, but the mistake certainly fooled the entire country for twelve hours. It is urged by newspaper critics here that some compromise in reporting war news, which should not lean too much to the conservatism of the British news bureau or to the sensationalism of the American Yellow Press writers, would probably meet the situation.

The concluding paragraph quoted above is distinctly good, for apparently the better method of telling the truth is not desirable and, indeed, would appear to be the last thing the

master class think of doing. A "compromise" in the case of the six and one is a really brilliant idea!

At a luncheon party held at the House of Commons a few days ago in honour of a Mr. Medill McCormick, a Congressman representing Chicago, a little plain speaking was indulged in. We have on many occasions been informed that this war had nothing to do with capitalist development; its origin was to be looked for outside such a paltry affair as seaports and commercial rivalries. But lo and behold this wise man who has travelled from the West informs us that:

We purposed to abandon, and to make Germany abandon, wanton bloodshed as a means of acquiring markets—the Kaiser's "place in the sun" which any people might win by industry and skill.—"Daily News," 13.9.1917.

One by one and in strange places the international master class let the cat out of the bag. For which, thanks.

From an unsigned article in the "Daily Express" (31.8.1917) I recently strayed across the following:

The German loves order and discipline. He has a genius for obedience. Germany is perhaps the best governed country in the world. Her cities are well kept. Her poor are well looked after. She possesses a competent, rigid, and honest bureaucracy. The German appreciates all this. If he is a Socialist, he really does not want to change the system fundamentally. He probably only wants to give the wage earner a chance to become a bureaucrat.

Really amazing, is it not? How often have we been told of the awful things that would happen if German militarism was not crushed and we came under the heel of German rule. Terrible pictures have been conjured up in the imagination of our masters and pastors concerning the terrible Hun, and yet with all the Distresses print the above. I leave them to reconcile the seemingly absurd and contradictory statements.

We have grown accustomed to hearing the pathetic wail of the anti-Socialist in his piny effort to stay the onward march of Socialism. How he repeats like a gramophone the statement that Socialism will break up the home life, and so forth. In this connection I have read and re-read a long article under the heading: "Should the State have the Babies?" in a weekly newspaper. It is enough to make the hair stand on end of the average anti. The writer of the article sketches two pictures: one the ordinary working class home conditions on a washing day, and the conditions of "home" life in the State creche. The former needs no repetition here, but the latter is indeed illuminating. After describing the idealistic conditions under the new arrangement which he suggests he goes on to say:

There are women about the palace—women in humble circumstances of life, but so much healthier, and happier, and less careworn than the half-distracted mothers of the old days, whose backs ached from morning till night, and whose knees trembled with the endless fatigue of trying to bring up a large family and earn money for it at the same time.

These mothers are paying their weekly visit to their little ones. Each week, since the State Creche received the babies into its wise, strong and bounteous arms, they have been able to note the advance made by the children. Clean, well fed, sanely clothed, fearless, happy, eager for life—what a nation will ours be when this new generation of young people stand forth to carry on the work of the Empire!

WILL THE DREAM COME TRUE? And why not? Will that dream ever come true? Will any Government, seizing the moment when all minds are receptive, many conventions shattered, most weak sentimentalisms gone by the board, have the courage to gather up the little ones, take them out of the reeking gutter and the awful slum and the fetid cottage, and bring them up in its series of State Creches?

Or shall I be told that nobody can bring up a child but its own mother? That the mother's knee is the best school, and the mother's love the best protection, and the father's example the surest guide in life?

Namby-pamby rubbish, I retort! Go into the slums of the big towns, and into the poor quarters

of the country towns and villages, and look into the dwellings. Listen to the language, and examine the food the children eat and the clothes the little things have on their bodies! And look at the little unwashed bodies and heads! Look at their mouths!

Shall all this continue because no leader has the courage to say to the mother: "When your child is twelve months old, when he can toddle about and is beginning to be a nuisance and to get into danger, when another child, perhaps, is on the way, and you are distracted for want of money, and health, and strength—then the State (which needs him so badly) will take your child, and tend him, feed, clothe, educate him. And all this we will do within a few miles of your home, so that you may see him every week of your life and mark his progress!"—"Sunday Pictorial," 24.6.1917.

There you are, my working-class sisters, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest. The scheme is only for the poor! Up to the present I have seen no appeal for funds for the Anti-Socialist Union to combat such a "pernicious doctrine." Such a condemnation of capitalist society from this quarter is truly valuable. We could hardly be more emphatic ourselves.

THE SCOUT.

MR. T. RENNOLLS AGAIN.

HE PROMISES TO CLEAR UP THE "MYSTERY" OF THE "HOWS OF SOCIALISM" NEXT TIME.

Sir,—Socialism suffers the ignominy of having itself interpreted by a motley assortment of thoroughly earnest and conscientious dogmatists, whose self-satisfaction with their own verbal and inspired platitudes is a replica of our education system, both in religion and politics. If Socialism is anything at all, it is something to US, something of imminent worth—only most of us don't know it. There is contained within its teachings and interpretations a live principle of action that consists in the revolution itself, and which opens wide the door to the primary and definite growth of the social order implying Socialism. This principle of action, and the pointer indicating its residence in one of the commonest teachings of Socialism, has hitherto been encumbered and hidden with the rags and wrappings and insignia of the ambiguities, abstractions, and meaningless phrases, the latter of which I instanced in my last letter to you, which were taken from the programme of the S.P.G.B., and which are as plain as a pikestaff to any open-minded Socialist. Such things reduce Socialism to a Sociological hereafter, whereas it is of vital consequence and importance to the immediate future, an affair of OURS here and now. Having failed to make it this, having neglected one of its first principles, which meant the loss of this vital active force in Socialism, it is up to us to retract and to make good the waste of energy that constitutes the trail of our progress.

Socialists have had the effrontery on their public platforms to tell their audiences who were rightly, logically and naturally interested in the "how" of Socialism, i.e., "How can you get it?" "What must be done to attain it?" that that matter must be left to the people who, at some probably distant date, have made up their minds to have it. Or they have put it down to poor old Evolution, that seems to have to answer for all our difficulties, such as Christ is supposed to answer for all our "sins."

These answers illustrate the bankruptcy of the Socialist propaganda. And to tell the people that we must "seize and hold," "take over," or "transform," or "convert" private into public property, or "nationalise" this, that and the other, also illustrates the fact that these Socialists, the S.P.G.B. included, cannot answer the question, have no answer to it and simply don't know. All these terms explain nothing; there isn't a ghost of a "how" in it, and until you can answer that question properly the capitalist has a walk over.

What guarantee have you that some other generation will know better than you "how to set about the revolution," except through the lead you give them gratuitously, that you don't know yourself?

To confess that you cannot answer this question is a step in the right direction. To desire to be able to answer it is another. To bolster up

your non activist platitudinarian Socialism with personal accusations of your critics' "inability to comprehend what he reads," his "deplorable form of second sight," his "excessively imaginative mind," his "slipshod method," and his "twists and inversions," simply won't do. They may pass for slashing attacks with people who only too commonly construe personalities for arguments, but times are too serious and momentous for such indulgences, and Socialism has to pay the penalty all the time.

Socialism has depth as well as breadth. Analogically it is more the pudding than your pancake.

In it there is something for every man and woman to do, undelegated and without the "you leave it to us business," or the "wait till the clouds roll by," "get-out."

I call this "how" question an essential one. Disputation arises mostly upon it. People will agree about the Broad principles while disputing the Depths. And no wonder, when they see Socialists out of their depths in it. These disputations eventually give rise to the final neglect of Socialism as a FORCE, and the "new member," passing through, in addition, the polemics of "Branch business," routes of processions, prices of concert tickets, the seven categories of Capital, water on the Sahara or the price of eggs in 1844, disappears into the throngs of Blackfriars Bridge at twilight, only to find that "getting his living" must resume its former place in his mind, accompanied with strong indifference toward a Socialism that first tempted him, but afterwards left him bereft of hope, and a permanent instrument of capitalist slavery for him and joy-rides for them.

The slow growth of Socialism can be traced to the persistency of platitudes and palliatives (I don't know which is worse), to the permeation of passivism (wait and see Socialism), and to the want of recognition of Activist Socialism—the thing I am driving at.

Let me put my "essential" question another way with the intention of making it more forceful and making its inner meaning stand out.

Question: What would be done to-morrow morning by all the people, if all the people were like "F.F." or you, Mr. Editor, or any member of the S.P.G.B., were like you in conviction, determination and understanding, were like you, class-conscious, revolutionary Socialists, what would you all do to-morrow morning?

The answer to this question will jolly soon find out what Socialism is to YOU, and what you are to it.

Let us have a "slashing attack" upon this question; an eye-opener answer.

It will find out and measure the amount of practical force, vim and activity impressed upon you as a result of your understanding of Socialism and its worth to you, the individual. It will indicate on its test dial, and on yours, whether Socialism sleepeth in you or is an active, vital, kinetic force, prepared with revolution and reaction proof.

The solution of this question lies in that simple Socialist teaching: Labour-power produces all economic wealth.

Thanking you for an answer to this question, I propose in another letter and with your permission to answer it myself, as if it were put to me.—Yours fraternally, TOM RENNOLLS.

THE REPLY.

In this second letter from Mr. Rennolls there are three things he has done and two he has left undone.

1. He has repeated the wild charges he made previously without proving or even attempting to prove them, then or now.
 2. He has repeated his accusation re "ambiguities and abstractions" in a long letter composed from beginning to end, of abstractions, indefinite and ambiguous phrases.
 3. He has repeated the lie that he built up his case on quotations from the "Socialist Standard."
- What has he left undone?
1. He has not touched upon a single point I raised in my reply.
 2. He has failed to show any error in the details, principles, or general policy of the S.P.G.B.

In my first answer I showed that he had misquoted the Declaration of Principles, picking out words and half sentences, and generally making abstractions in one sense, that he might charge us with the use of abstractions in another sense. If he were practised in missing word competitions and such-like amusements it would be an easy matter for him to re-arrange all the words in the Declaration of Principles to make them read the exact opposite of their present meaning. But if, after having done so, he asserted that it was our "programme," that would be a lie. On the other hand it is permissible for a critic to take a sentence or paragraph for his purpose, so long as it is complete and is an expressed opinion or judgment.

What Mr. Rennolls did was to drag half sentences from their context in order to give a false impression of the whole, though, even apart from it, they might teach him something; for surely Mr. Rennolls—with his professed knowledge of Socialism—cannot be ignorant of the meaning of such a term as "The conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, etc."

For "abstractions and ambiguities" let the reader note that portion of his letter commencing "If Socialism is anything at all it is something to us." He appears to be impatient with us, because "the live principle of action that consists in the revolution itself," in other words that mean exactly the same, *the revolution itself*, is not here. In spite of his impatience, however, the revolution will only be achieved by arduous and steady propaganda. Socialism is something for us—to work for. Meanwhile, the evolutionary process continues, that process of development that characterises every form of society: the growth and modification that goes on continuously from the revolution in which it was born to the revolution that ends it, to give birth, phoenix like, to yet another system.

Capitalism of to-day, with its colossal machinery of production and distribution, has evolved from a beginning in which the greatest mechanical powers known were the water wheel and the windmill. Capitalist evolution is that process of growth or development that must continue while capitalism lasts; it can only cease with the establishment of Socialism. Evolution is a process, and when Mr. Rennolls finds the S.P.G.B. ascribing to evolution "difficulties," or anything else, that will be the time for him to jeer at us; but let him find it first.

Mr. Rennolls repeats again and again in his second letter, the question he asked in his first, and which was answered in the Declaration of Principles before he asked it. His "essential" question as he terms it: "How?" "If all the people were class conscious revolutionary Socialists, what would you all do to-morrow morning?" The solution to this question he says lies in that simple Socialist teaching: "Labour-power produces all economic wealth." That is no solution: but it intimates one possible answer to the question. As we live by the consumption of wealth, some of us would have to get up, dress and get on with the production of it. Even when asking questions, Mr. Rennolls's imagination leads him into absurdities. If all the people—IF, as though some subtle essence from the tail of a comet could open the eyes of the workers and give them an understanding of Socialism; make Socialists of them all without the labour of educating and organising. "If all the people were Socialists" to-night—could anything be more impossible or absurd? We, at least, do not look for miracles, nor do we expect to see, nor do we think of a moment that anyone in the future will see, such a position as he outlines in his question: "all the people" Socialists, capitalism still triumphant, and the people, i.e., the workers, not organised to capture the political machine as the first, and most important step to the establishment of Socialism. In the modern political State it is the majority that rules. The ruling class, smaller in numbers than the workers, make up a majority from the unclass-conscious material among the latter. With the growth of the Socialist Party this will become increasingly difficult and finally impossible. When the Socialists are in a majority over all other parties they will be able, through their representatives, to control the political machine; this will place in their hands the power to take

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

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BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spicel-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Suns. 4.30

EDMONTON.—C. D. Waller, Sec., 2 Tower-gardens, Wood Green. Branch meets every Saturday, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

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TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—All communications to D. G. Lloyd, 48, Badliass-rd., Walthamstow.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Secy., 107 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 469, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd., New Southgate. From Jan. 10 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

whatever steps are necessary to establish the new order. What these steps may be will depend upon the circumstances and conditions that apertain at the time. Depend upon it, a working-class organisation built up to a majority in the face of all capitalist parties and methods of opposition, will possess the knowledge, ability, determination and courage to carry through the revolution in spite of every obstacle flung across their path by reactionaries and capitalist politicians. Without the power they will acquire through control of the political machine, the workers can change nothing. They must either submit to capitalist rule or revolt and be bludgeoned into submission by the agents and tools of the class that controls the political machine. Political control is the key that unlocks the door of the new order; to-day it is in the hands of the capitalist class—hence their power. The accomplishment of the revolution is dependent on the knowledge and power of the working class; the Socialist Party imparts the knowledge, control of the political machine will give them the power.

F. F.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

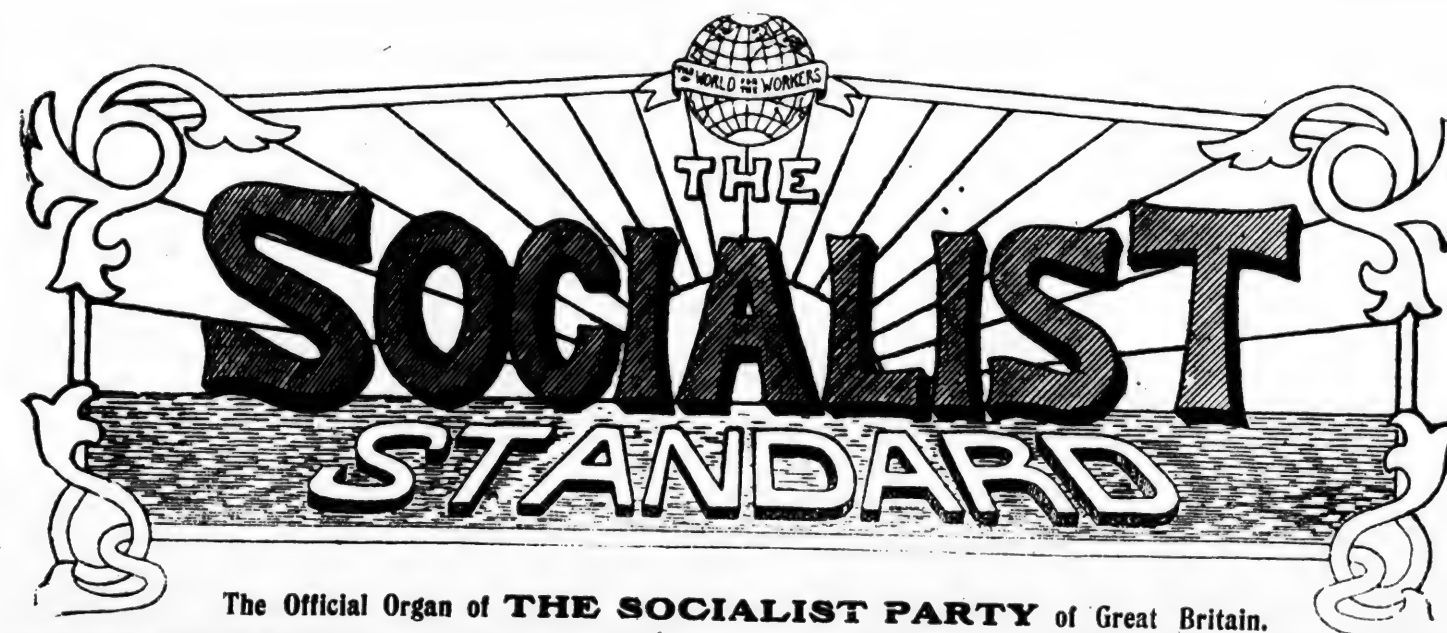
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

SOCIOLOGY IN AMERICA.

WHERE YANKEE SCIENTISTS FAIL.

It has been often claimed for America that it has done signal service in the cause of social science. Almost every university here includes sociology in its curriculum. Thousands of volumes are devoted to it in its static, dynamic, or applied aspects by the professors and savants. Arthur M. Lewis, one of the most active lecturers on this subject in the States, says in his book "Introduction to Sociology," that "In sociology, thanks to the labours of Lester F. Ward, America holds a foremost place."

It is true that what passes for sociology receives a great deal of attention in America. Much of it, however, is mere advocacy of reform, organised charity, and similar nostrums. A good deal of the interest "sociology" receives is due to the "problems" inevitably arising from the development of modern industry in America. Terrible poverty, with its multiform sufferings, has played such havoc with the proletariat in America that "Surveys" and "Special Commissions" have piled up tomes with reports and programmes. Almost every large factory has a "Sociological Department" to investigate the social conditions of its employees. Real Sociology, however—viewed as a study of social laws and social development—gets as little attention here as elsewhere.

Sociology is the science of Society. It deals with the whole field of social life, past and present, and gives us an indication of the future. Sociology embraces the study of Socialism as of capitalism; feudalism and slavery; primitive communism and also the developed communism toward which Society is now tending.

The relation between Socialism and sociology is briefly this: Socialism is a system of society which will occupy a stage of social development. Sociology covers the entire range of social development, and is concerned with more than the economic life of peoples. It enquires into the mental, moral, and physical activities of the population. The data of sociology are the facts presented by all the social sub-sciences—history, economics, ethics, and politics—besides the social aspects of psychology.

Where Socialism does enter upon the entire field of social life, past, present, and future, is in its value as a philosophy of history. Socialism as a theory of human society is based upon the generalisations of sociology called principles of human development. The place of Socialism within social evolution depends upon the scientific principle which teaches that systems change according to social laws. These laws should be the real subject of enquiry for sociologists, but they seldom are.

The great generalisation which forms an inevitable part of Socialist philosophy is the Materialist Conception of History. This view of history, when applied to the tendency of past and present points the road to Socialism. As

a statement of the dynamic forces working throughout human development it belongs to the philosophy of history. Many non-Socialists have accepted the Materialist Conception of History theory, but as they have only applied it as an interpretation of the past and present, they have not identified it with Socialism. We apply this materialist key to the future society, and therefore associate it with Socialism. While the Materialist Conception of History forms an integral part of Socialism, it must be borne in mind that this conception may be held by non-Socialists, who stop short when it comes to drawing conclusions from the material tendencies of present society.

Several "keys" to history have been offered us by modern sociologists. Gabriel Tarde finds "imitation" the fundamental fact of social life and social change. As, however, he does not trace the causes of social change, his "solution" does not go far enough. Professor Giddings is one of the most noted of American Sociologists, and he sees in kinship the driving force of social advance. His interpretation is a psychological one, as is also Professor Mark Baldwin's, and neither explain the varying mental culture between one epoch and another. Why association and kinship became stronger factors as the race advanced is not told.

The late Professor Lester Frank Ward was considered the most advanced of sociologists in America, and his writings deserve close study. He assimilated the evolutionist culture of our time and, unlike Professor Giddings, rejected religious superstition. His examination of social life led him to the conclusion that religion had not helped the race. His teachings are contained in "Pure Sociology," "Applied Sociology," "Dynamic Factors of Sociology," and more completely in "Dynamic Sociology." He was a pronounced exponent of evolution applied to every sphere of life and nature. A specialist in the science of botany and a voluminous authority on the flora of the American Continent, he also spent a good deal of time in his application of science to social life. He was a rigid disciple of Comte, and therefore in many ways a critic of Herbert Spencer.

The chief shortcoming of Ward's writings is that they are more concerned with psychology than with real Sociology. His inductions are in the main gathered from the mental life of peoples. Take, for instance, his view of the origin of Society:

I regard human association as the result of the perceived advantage which it yields and as coming into existence only in proportion as that advantage was perceived by the only faculty capable of perceiving it, the intellect. ("Outlines of Sociology," p. 43.)

For Prof. Ward Society is a psychical product, not a material product born out of the pitiless pressure of the struggle for existence among

primitive peoples. To assert that Society is born of men's perception and reason is to credit primitive men with greater mental concepts than modern anthropology allows. His theory is akin to Jean Jacques Rousseau's, which was that society originates from a contract between individuals.

The same psychological view is taken of the characteristics of the human being. Contrary to the Aristotelian view that man is a political animal, and to that of later writers that man is a social animal, Ward finds the chief distinction between man and the lower animals is that man is a reasoning animal. He says:

I am inclined to the view that man is not naturally a social being, that he has descended from an animal that was not even gregarious by instinct, and that human society, like so many other facts that I have been enumerating, is purely a product of his reason and arose by insensible degrees, *pari passu* with the development of his brain. (Same work, p. 90.)

Happiness, says Ward, is the goal of all human effort, and the sum total of Society's effort is achievement. Feeling is the dynamic agent throughout social evolution according to him, and it is the motive force behind all social change. Such a philosophy, however, does not explain the varying concepts of happiness that have existed throughout the ages. It does not account for the changing social structures and institutions existing while human feelings have remained comparatively constant. Ward says human desires and wants have been the propelling power behind the evolution of Society, but why desires and wants change in their nature is not stated.

Summing up this enquiry I will quote Prof. Simon N. Patton of Pennsylvania University, whose statement on this question is unanswerable. He says:

It is often put forward as an objection to the economic interpretation of history that there are just as strong grounds for a social, an intellectual, or a religious interpretation.

Such critics fail, however, to perceive the essential difference between an economic interpretation and those contrasted with it. The qualities of mankind are divided into two groups, the natural and the acquired. For many thousand years there has been little or no change in natural characters. As biological beings we are to-day what our ancestors were when historians began to keep records; all the changes have been within the group of acquired characters, which are in the main economic. Religious, social, intellectual and sexual feelings cannot be regarded as the causes of the changes appearing in history if these feelings have not varied in intensity during the historic epoch.

It is only their relation to economic events that has altered, and in this way many institutions have arisen that reflect and reinforce the natural feelings. Institutions, however, are acquired phenomena, and their alterations give evidence of changes within the realm of economics to which natural feelings must adjust themselves. Should industrial habits,

methods of production and institutions become stable, while new natural characters appeared or the older ones gained strength, a period of history would begin in which progress must be interpreted in other than economic terms.

The present epoch with its fixed natural characters and rapid industrial changes can have but one valid method of interpretation, and that is in terms of acquired characters impressed and modified by the pressure of economic conditions.

—"Social Basis of Religion," pp. 34-35.)

In a further article the real cause of social change will be discussed.

A. KOHN.

THE NEW "SOCIALISM."

MORE WOBBLES FROM AMERICA.

The Manifesto of the Nationalist "Socialists" on Militarism is one of the most demoralising documents that so-called Socialists have ever penned. For the information of readers who do not read American papers it is printed verbatim. It is taken from the official "Socialist Party Bulletin."

A. K.

"DEMOCRATIC DEFENSE."

"A PRACTICAL PROGRAM FOR SOCIALISM."

"First: We declare it our conviction that there is a difference, even from the point of view of revolutionary Socialism, between democratic and autocratic governments. To refuse to recognize the difference is to be idealist in the bad sense of the word—to take formulas and abstract ideas in place of realities. We believe that liberal institutions have their value, as making it possible to agitate for Socialism and to progress toward Socialism without destructive internal conflict. Socialists have proven this attitude in Europe by combining with bourgeois parties in order to obtain democratic reforms. As a political party, relying upon the vote, we necessarily believe in, support, and defend constitutional government; leaving it to anarchists and anti-parliamentarian syndicalists to proclaim the unreality of any distinction among capitalist governmental systems.

"Second: We declare it impossible for democratic nations to disarm, or even to weaken their defenses, in the presence of autocratic nations. If we could have the full revolutionary Socialist program in America tomorrow, we might be called upon to defend it against nations which were organized for aggression under military and aristocratic rulers; precisely as revolutionary France was called upon to defend her ideals against the rest of Europe. It is futile to talk of appealing to the workers in countries where the workers are unorganized and without power, and would not even be permitted to know of our appeal.

"Third: We declare that the proper aim of Socialist world-politics at the present time is an alliance of the politically advanced nations for the defense of the democratic principle throughout the world. If, at the conclusion of the present war, any of the autocratic nations should become democratic, they would of course be welcomed into such an alliance. Thus only can progress toward world peace be secured, and gradual disarmament made practicable.

"Fourth: As a means to the working out of this program, we declare for the democratization of diplomacy. We would have the world-policies of America precisely declared. We would provide that diplomatic communications should be published, and a more immediate control of foreign relations insisted upon by the people.

"Fifth: Pending the securing of a world peace by an alliance of democratic nations, it is necessary that the United States should maintain an army and navy. We Socialists are not sentimental or religious non-residents. We are willing to fight for democracy, and we prove it by the instant sympathy we give to people who are fighting for democracy whether in St. Petersburg or Colorado. To refuse under any circumstances to vote for military supplies, as has been required by a recent party decree, is to be sentimental rather than scientific, Tolstolian rather than Marxian.

"Sixth: If we must have an army and navy, the question becomes, what kind of an army and navy shall we have? We declare that the proper program for the American Socialist movement is the common ownership and democratic control of the instruments and means of defense. We believe that there is no danger to democracy in a citizen army and navy, controlled by the people. The danger lies in an incompetent army and navy controlled by a few politicians and a munitions lobby, a hired army of wage-slaves, officered by a class, and serving as a support to the aristocratic tradition.

"Seventh: The true Socialist formula is: No private profit from military supplies. In times of emergency, of course, munitions must be bought wherever they can be found. But under ordinary conditions Socialists should favor the nationalization of munitions manufacture. One of the principal menaces of militarism lies in the lobby.

"Eighth: We declare for the democratization of the military service. We would democratize West Point and Annapolis by providing that admission to government military and naval schools should be thru the ranks, as a reward for physical, mental and moral efficiency demonstrated in the service. We would have social equality the ideal in both army and navy: there is no reason why that spirit of comradeship which is found in the trenches should not be practicable in the training-camp.

"Ninth: We declare for the modernization of the military service. Military training is not of necessity futile—it is only stupidity and traditionalism which make it so. The ability to march in a series of perfectly straight lines, which is an important end of the present West Point system, has nothing whatever to do with efficiency in modern warfare. The first essential is that the man should be a part of an organized body, feeling and acting as an organism: that he should be physically fit, able to march long distances and to stand the rigors of the outdoor life; and that he should understand the use, not merely of weapons, but of all kinds of machinery. Training to these ends can be obtained in the forestry service, in railroad work, in the harvest fields, in the police and fire departments, in emergency work in floods, storms and accidents; it can be obtained in football, polo and other organized games, in gymnastic work, manual training and camp-life. Our military training should be made the physical culture part of our public school education. It should be begun in childhood, thru the work of the Boy and Girl Scouts; it should be continued thru youth, when hunting, boating and outdoor activities are the greatest joys in life. Such training could be made so interesting that it would be regarded by everyone as a privilege rather than a duty.

"Tenth: We declare that service in such a modern, democratic defense force should be part of the discipline and duty of every citizen, both male and female. To use only volunteers in national defense is to kill off the men of courage and character, and to breed from weakness and incompetence; and this is national suicide. A vital military system should be an organic part of the national life, and as Socialism and democracy bring us towards the World Federation, and put war farther into the background of human possibilities, our military organization would naturally be turned to the ends of peace. The Socialist movement would know how to employ such a disciplined army—in the reconstruction work of industry, the tearing down of the slums and the building of the co-operative Commonwealth.

W. J. Ghent,
Charmian London,
Charles Edward Russell,
Mary Craig Sinclair,
Upton Sinclair,
George Sterling,
J. G. Phelps Stokes,
William English Walling.

"(Walling signs with the reservation of paragraph ten, which he would favor only in case a large land army were needed. Mrs. London states: 'Jack London would have signed it, I know.'")

We may possibly offer some criticism of above on our own account next month.—Eds. "S.S.")

REPRISALS.

The topic of the hour, in the tube, tram, cookshop, four-ale bar and at the workshop bench, is "Reprisals." For the moment the real issues of this colossal tragedy are put upon one side, and one hears from the lips of jaded workers who have never known what "Peace" really is, such catch phrases as are current in the Press and also the ludicrous ejaculations that are reported as being uttered by the God-head of the British Empire—Mr. George (the Commoner not the King)—namely: "Give them a dose of their own medicine!" "Give them Hell!" "Bomb German women and children!" and other equally nauseous expressions indicative of the state of mind of the world's peoples in this, the twentieth century of "Christian civilization."

It is not necessary to discuss whether air raids on Southern Germany will prove an efficacious preventive of air raids on England, though, of course, thinking workers who know the cold-blooded contempt in which our masters hold us, will realise that they do not consider the lives of working-class women and babies at all, but desire only to damage the German master-class property in return for the damage done to their own here. As General Smuts stated: "London is the nerve centre of the British Empire," and the axle on which turns the wheel of Armageddon, which the Germans will continue to attack, regardless of the fact that Allied airmen are bombing German towns. Thus members of the working class unfortunate enough to be dwelling in the danger zone need not be grateful to their masters for blowing to pieces German women and children, also of the working class, but should rather bestir themselves to think about the present state of affairs.

Gothas may come over and bomb Shoreditch and the Allied aeroplanes may fly over the next night and bomb Baden; Capronis may bomb Pola and the Austrians in return may bomb Venice; raids and their consequent reprisals may be the next phase in the war, but why, oh why, should the working class think they have any cause for satisfaction? Does the murdered Shoreditch baby revive and live anew when a Baden baby is slaughtered? Will the babies of Pola rise refreshed and sing the National Hymn of Austria on learning of the fate of the Venetian babies? No! All that will result will be that workers will suffer, as they always suffer, from the ghastly effects of a rotten social system; and that the capitalist class in their fight for commercial supremacy, one section over the other, will go on shedding blood other than their own, until their objects are attained.

What reck they so long as their Argosies reach new-won markets, even if the seas upon which they ride are of human blood? No! friends of the working class, "Reprisals" are not measures to safeguard your lives: you are too cheap to be worth that trouble.

But apart from Reprisals, the present war, as I have stated, is entering upon a new phase. The Press calls it the "Air offensive." It is a phase that is fraught with solemn bodings to the workers of the world. The science of warfare has progressed in astonishing leaps and bounds. The Zeppelin, the most effective air weapon in the earlier stages of the war, is already spoken of as out of date and innocuous. New inventions of lethal intent have crowded across the stage of war in a progressive stream; new explosives, new guns, new gases; tanks, U boats, Gothas, '75s and a host of others that make one shudder to think of what the war of the future will be like.

That is the question for the working class to consider. The capitalist system has culminated in this state of affairs, when it is death to look out of one's door at the moon; when chaste women and prostitutes shelter together in cellars, and parsons rub shoulders with honest men in underground places.

But the science of warfare will not stop there. The international capitalist gang will be always squabbling and coveting the world's markets, so long as they remain in control of the world's wealth. And wars will come and go, each one more terrible than the last.

Think then, comrades of the international

proletariat, of the heritage you are leaving to posterity, of the death that falls from the skies, strikes from below the surface of the seas, and creeps over the landscape in a cloud of gas. It is not for you to shriek for reprisals on yourselves, but to act, at once, on class-conscious lines, organise for Socialism and overthrow for ever the tyrant that stands with his foot on your neck pressing you down into the bloody mire. Don't worry yourself as to whether that foot wears a jack-boot or a patent leather one, but arise and fling it off. Join with our comrades of all lands in building a new world above the ruins of the old, a world where national boundaries shall be unknown and wars be things of the past.

S. H. S.

BRITISH RED AND PRUSSIAN BLUE.

One of the finest of modern novelists and writers on Art—Mr. George Moore—speaks in one of his books of the "colour" of the mind of a certain celebrated artist. He means that which tinges his mental vision and steeps his habitual outlook in a certain definite and personal hue; thus producing characteristic "colour schemes." This peculiarity of mental colouration is not limited to artists, however, nor to colour schemes alone. Everyone's outlook on life is personal and self-coloured, and that of the capitalist class is entirely different from that of the workers: in fact, in complete opposition in interest and purpose. Further, the British capitalists, when they are Imperialistically minded, think in terms of Empire—the one and only British Empire!—"on which the sun never sets."

Hence has arisen that phrase expressive of bombastic Imperialism: "The All-Red Route." This was, as some may know, coined to denote the trail of British capitalist enterprise: "Our Possessions" as the school-books have it.

It is a long, long trail, too, and engirdles the Earth! It is invariably coloured "Red" on the map, and this colouration is grimly and ironically appropriate. For the capitalist class of Britain in their insatiable greed for wealth and dominance in the world-markets have steeped these territories and lands in many cases in the red blood of British soldiers and workers of this and the captured lands. Listen to this!—

If there be a God then what he would like me to do is to paint as much of the map of Africa British Red as possible; and to do that I am elsewhere to promote the unity and extend the influence of the British Race—Cecil Rhodes. (See "Review of Reviews," April, 1902.)

Look into the average school geography book and see there what is owned and controlled by the British capitalist class, and what they have coloured "British Red" on the map. The robbery with violence of the rights of the people of other nations, the crushing of "small nationalities" under their ruthless heel, has culminated in a long chain of "possessions" and "dependencies." According to the facts, served up in the schools to engender a pride in "Our Empire, some of these portions of the globe have been "occupied" by us, others "annexed" or "acquired." Some have "capitulated," been "taken possession of" or "settled." What a lot do words sometimes signify! "Annexed"! "Settled"! Sometimes the heights of perfect candour are reached, and then we read that a certain place or colony was "captured" or "conquered." We are told in McDougall's "The Colonies and India," that these territories have been won by the sword, by settlement, by treaty, and by purchase. In the introduction we read:

But after the battle of Plassey in 1757 the power of the French was destroyed in Bengal, and from that time the British power advanced rapidly! "Leagues of native princes against the British in the south only led to a further extension of British dominion."

Later, re South Africa, we read: "After wars with native Kaffirs, Zulus and Basutos, British territory was greatly enlarged! And so on, ad nauseam!

Our capitalists have, for many years, been "thinking Imperially." They have been planning and scheming to colour the map with as much "British Red" as possible. The pride of Empire sheds its glow over many of their own

wage slaves. These latter, lacking class-consciousness and political knowledge, think that they also should be proud of these "achievements" of the "Empire-builders." Ye gods! Is there anything to be proud of that men of their own nationality should have "subjugated" the men of another—and by means of brute force, cunning, diplomatic twisting and intrigue?

What profits it the worker, who is a wage-slave in his "own" country, that the wage-slavery of which he is the victim at the hands of the British ruling class should be extended to workers of other lands? If it were not so tragically ironic it would be a matter for Homeric laughter!

So matters have continued. The British Empire, like an octopus, has spread its tentacles to greedily clutch whatever it can, and enlarge its domain for capitalist exploitation. Other nations look enviously on and wish to emulate their rivals' achievements. "We also must colonise, must expand somehow—no matter what the cost," they think. Germany desires "World-conquest," and to colour the map Prussian Blue. It would delight the Teutonic capitalists. The sight of great colonies coloured "British Red" is like a red rag to a bull: an incitement and an offence. The greed of gain dominates their thoughts to the exclusion of all other interests. Planting Imperialism induces similar desires; desires lead to action, and they in turn lead to "colonisation."

Now we were told earlier in the "Great War," by that notorious political twister, Lloyd George, of the dire results to the British worker if our present capitalist made enemies won the war. "God help Labour if Germany wins!" so said the wily Welshman. We who are Socialists, know the frothy folly of such a remark. What is more, Lloyd George himself must know that the workers will not and cannot be worse off economically and otherwise under capitalists of the Hun kind than of the Brit-Hun type. They will still be wage-slaves, selling their labour-power of hand and brain for their daily bread. The same precariousness of livelihood, menace of unemployment and want, would threaten them. Their wages would continue, on the average, to only just suffice to keep them efficient. What matters, then, the nationality of their exploiters? Brazen lies of politicians flow as freely from their lips as do their innumerable pledges. Listen to Lloyd George:

There is no section of the community that has such an interest in the victory of the Allies as the workers of the world. . . . It is this federation of free nations (the British Empire) that has presented such a formidable obstacle to the collective aims of German Militarism.—"Daily Chronicle," 16.8.17.

And now finally:

He (Lloyd George) had always believed in telling the truth, the whole truth, to his fellow countrymen, because he knew that was the way to get the best out of them.—"The Star," 7.9.17.

There is nothing like truth: it is so refreshing! Had the politicians, diplomats and capitalists of Europe on the eve of war declared the truth, and told why they contemplated letting hell loose by declaring war, then in verity there would have been no war. The whole cunning, deeplicable and sordid business is clothed in lies: lies of foreign offices and shameless falsehoods of parliaments, pulpits, and the prostitute Press of capitalism! And the workers, who in the past have largely ignored Socialism and lapped up the lies their masters feed them with, thought it was their war! What interest have they in capitalist wars? Their portion is to be ridden by the machine gun as they go "over the top" to bayonet their capitalist-made foes, or blown to pieces in a "big push." You pick up the paper and read that yesterday over 1,000 men were killed amongst the English alone, and in the same edition we read in reference to that day's warfare, "Haig states there is nothing to report"! Capitalism in warfare or in days of much-vaunted "Peace" is the same, and the same barbaric ruthlessness is displayed by the master class the world over.

Germany in her dream of world-conquest wants to colonise, but she is face to face with the fact that her rivals have "got there first," and established "the Empire." Hear what Sir A. Stanley, speaking recently, said:

Had the system of peaceful penetration carried on by the Germans before the War continued for a few

years more it would have meant the industrial destruction of this country. Neither this nor any other Government would ever tolerate a continuation of that policy.—"Daily Telegraph," 21.7.17.

So it appears they thought the time was ripe, and their rivals also. Shortly after—thanks to capitalism—the curtain was raised and revealed the beginning of the most tragic drama and orgy of militarism the world has seen! Of course it is all put down to the Kaiser in this country! In Berlin they say: "England is alone the enemy." So we see the real cause is purposely obscured, but not to the Socialists!

Perhaps the quotation herewith will prove illuminating and show how frank are some who aid and abet. Mr. Harold Fraser Wyatt, of the Imperial Maritime League, writing in the "Nineteenth Century and After," (Sept., 1914), says:

Efficiency for war is God's test of the nation's soul. Victory is the result of efficiency, and that efficiency is the result of a spiritual quality. And the efficiency or inefficiency of its armaments is the determining factor in a nation's success, or of a nation's failure at that culminating moment of long processes of commercial and diplomatic rivalry—the moment of War.

Comment is needless. Again:

The problem of the British Empire is—How is the British Empire to triumph over the world.—Colonel Charles Ross, D.S.O. ("Representative Government and War," p. 361.)

Finally:

The British Empire stands face to face with the world; and if she is to exist her armaments must be increased to such an extent as will enable her to contend if necessary with the whole world.—Ibid, p. 375.

The present war is obviously a thief's quarrel of the most sordid, mercenary, and disastrous kind that has ever afflicted the long-suffering and exploited workers. It is the outcome of our masters in this and other lands "thinking Imperially," the fruit of their efforts in Empire-building, struggling for world markets, and of their vaunted "diplomacy" and "commercial integrity."

But Lloyd-George is optimistic as ever. Recently he spake thus:

Our footprints may be stained with blood, but we will reach the height, and in front of us see the rich fields and plains of the new world we have sacrificed so much to reach.—"The Star," 7.9.17.

One thinks, as one reads the last portion of the above, of two names and all they connote—names written large in "British Red"—"Gallipoli" and "Mesopotamia"; and again one thinks!

German Lloyd Georges make similar speeches, throw out the same sops to aid the prosecution of the war to a "victorious conclusion." But the time is coming, aye, and soon! when no rhetoric will stay the disillusionment of the masses, when the Socialist Party will be completely vindicated. Not once have this party confused the issue. All along they have pointed out the capitalist nature of the present European struggle, maintaining that abundant proofs are to hand of the real object for which it is being waged.

Workers, it matters not to you under whose rule you are, nor whether Empires rise or fall. Dynasties may topple and "Democracies" arise, yet if wage-slavery continues, these changes leave your position absolutely unaltered as a class!

To abolish poverty and unemployment, wage-slavery and war, and the thousand evils of the capitalist system, is within your power. It is you alone who can effect your emancipation. Organise to capture the powers of government and completely control the destiny of your class—the wealth-producers of the world. Your only enemy is the international capitalist class. You alone can achieve the greatest purpose the mind of man has evolved—International Socialism!

Under that system alone can come about the brotherhood of man, liberty, comfort, and peace for all. Hail the "Socialist Commonwealth of the World." G.

In our September issue we took up a little matter with the S.L.P. In the "Socialist" of September the editor of that paper promised to prick the S.P. "bubble" in his next issue—if he has room! Mark the "barrage"!

PART IV. CHATTEL SLAVERY AND CIVILISATION.

N.B. -The issues from Sept. 1904 to August 1907 are out of print.

Turning to another phase of the same article one reads that "In every [land] the labouring man and the labouring woman have had the value of their efforts recognised at long last;" and "the foundations are being laid for the political edifice of the future." Passing on we observe that "so far all our electoral law has been so full of obstacles both to voters without property and candidates without wealth that numberless constituencies were safely set down as the preserves of the rich and the influential." Having thus been taken to Pisgah's heights we view the promised land, for the writer informs

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As agriculture came to be practised and gradually rose to supreme importance in the economy of Society, stock-keeping became a mere supplementary occupation, and the tribes settled down in villages as cultivators of the soil. Although at first the land was tilled in common, the practice developed of dividing the cultivatable land every year among the different

It is in the history of Greece and Rome that we can trace most clearly the final break-up of the primitive basis of Society—the supremacy of blood kinship. Long after the Greeks and Romans entered the "pages of history" they retained remnants of the ancient clan or gentile system. But as owing to trade, conquests, and other circumstances, a large population had grown up outside of the gentes, the gens, once a bulwark of democracy, had now become an aristocratic organisation the members of which (the so-called Patricians) administered the affairs of the much more numerous "Plebeians," and used their privileges to safeguard and advance their property interests. Part of their power was derived from the fact that they alone understood the law, which, it will be remembered, is in patriarchal society ancient custom,

"The Nemesis of Nations," W. R. Paterson, M.A. A work to be read for its full account of ancient slavery

offer his slaves for torture, and to refuse this when challenged was a weak point in his case." As Paterson points out, a slave's "voluntary evidence was rejected. He was not supposed to be capable of speaking the truth" (p. 20).

As may be imagined, the punishments meted in Rome were typical. They are thus summarised by Prof. Wilkins: "For slight offences out to slaves were very severe. Those in use slaves were beaten with a rod, . . . severer punishment was inflicted by a whip or thong like the American cow-hide; and the worst of all was the scourge made of knotted cords, with pieces of bone or even hooks inserted to tear the flesh. We cannot wonder that slaves sometimes died under the blows of this horrible instrument. That they might not be able to wince or struggle they were often hung up with weights fastened to their feet. . . . Death was but rarely inflicted because of the value of the slave as a piece of property; the usual method was by crucifixion, one of the most painful forms that can be imagined" (p. 20). The feet of fugitive slaves were frequently amputated.

Social and Moral Effects.

The above outline indicates the views held regarding slaves by the so-called freemen. They were not considered members of Society; they had no "rights," and no duties toward them were recognised. Both in theory and in practice they were property—human cattle, so to speak. Varro, indeed, an eminent Roman agrarian writer, thus classifies agricultural implements: 1. The speechless, such as the wagon and the plough; 2. The semi-speaking, cattle, etc.; 3. Those with speech, i.e., slaves. The theory came to be elaborated that not only was slavery indispensable to all cultural progress, but that slaves were designed to be such by nature. The classic statement of this view is thus given by Aristotle, the greatest of Greek thinkers: "There are in the human race individuals as inferior to others as the body is to the soul, or as the beast is to man; these are beings suitable for the labours of the body alone, and incapable of doing anything more perfect. These individuals are destined by nature for slavery because there is nothing better for them to do than to obey. . . . Nature creates some for liberty, others for slavery." (Politics, I. 5.)

As slave labour gradually extended so as to embrace all branches of industry, productive labour, other than in art, came to be regarded as a rightful occupation for slaves only, and to be in itself servile and degrading. Especially was this the case in some of the Grecian States, where, as Prof. Mahaffy says (Ibid, 63), "any free man who was compelled by poverty to perform this manual labour was held little better than a slave." War, politics, and, in Athens particularly, intellectual and artistic pursuits were considered the only "proper" occupations for a freeman, and were glorified accordingly.

We can readily realise the moral importance given to military service, for it was not only the means of acquiring the slaves so increasingly necessary, but was, and this was even more important, the essential safeguard against an uprising of the servile population which rapidly became far more numerous than the free. (Athens at its prime, for instance, had eighteen slaves to every adult citizen.)

As Society evolved in Greece and Rome, therefore, the citizens to an ever-increasing extent were divorced from productive labour, especially in the towns, in harmony with the contempt in which they had come to hold industrial pursuits. This was, however, doubtless a case of making a virtue of necessity, seeing that free labour was less and less able to compete with slave labour, for, owing to their enormous increase, slaves became commoner and cheaper than domestic animals.

The able-bodied freemen were, of course, required for the army, but so much was soldiering in line with their economic interests that, Greek soldiers not being in such constant and full use as were the Roman, they frequently enrolled for their keep and the possibility of plunder, with private military leaders, alien and even enemy governments, as mercenary troops.

But all "freemen" could not be soldiers, and we find that to a certain extent in Greece, and

very largely in Rome, arrangements had to be made by the State to both maintain and entertain, in the cities especially, a horde of propertyless citizens. Thus in Rome this proletariat received, as it was classically put, "bread and circuses." The delight which the Roman citizens had in these latter "bloody shows" (free to all citizens) is an interesting study in psychology. In the arena slaves fought to the death for the amusement of the onlookers. Wild beasts from every corner of the Empire were pitted against each other and against slaves. The number of slaves thus slaughtered must have been prodigious, and was only made possible by their exceeding abundance and cheapness. Pliny justified these shows on the ground that they cultivated in the Roman a "manly" warlike spirit, and this was the general belief.

This, then, was the inevitable nemesis of the greatest development of ancient slavery—that which occurred in Rome: its canker rotted the Roman Society to the core. The wealthy, enveloped with every luxury, sank into a paralyzing debauchery, and the poor "free" citizens of the "capital city of the world" largely became a mere clamouring, unprincipled mob, the dupes of every demagogue.

Regarding the ideas of the slaves themselves our information is very scanty. Every effort was made to prevent their discussion and organisation. As Paterson says (p. 187), "many slave-owners acted on the cruel advice of writers like Plato and Aristotle, who pointed out that, to avoid conspiracy, slaves speaking the same language should not be allowed to work together." On the other hand, continued subjection, the conviction of the futility of resistance and the consequent hopelessness of their position, would lead in many cases to a despondent submissiveness and a spiritless resignation to the inevitable. Especially would this apply to slaves who had never known freedom, who had been born into slavery. But despite all this, there is undoubted evidence that many of the slaves bitterly nurtured their grievances, and occasionally their class-feeling rose to culmination in those revolts of which the best known is that associated with Spartacus the Gladiator. But these revolts always failed to break the disciplined armies of their oppressors, and the bleached bones and grinning skulls along the highways were a vivid record of the cruel price the slaves paid for the sake of liberty.

Morality and the Class Division.

With the development of classes the original character of Society as an organisation to secure the mutual welfare of its members is destroyed. Instead of the interests of every individual coinciding with those of the group, we have certain sections whose welfare is enhanced through the oppression, robbery, and degradation of other sections. The interests of these classes being opposed, the one to maintain and to extend its supremacy, the other to lighten its burden and to achieve its freedom, that spontaneous pulling together and social cohesion natural to primitive societies can no longer exist. The moral law which was a means of preserving the necessary order and stability in the earlier stage cannot any longer preserve this function (except where members of a class are deluded as to their real interests—a circumstance we shall consider later). Physical coercion must be applied or threatened if an oppressed and exploited class is not to be a disturbing and disrupting element in the social organisation. The slaves must be compelled to work and to render up their surplus labour-power, any attempt at revolt being promptly suppressed. This is most obvious where chattel slavery, as outlined above, is the system in vogue, but it is an essential feature of every class society.

Morality is, of course, not abolished, for social relations still exist; but it changes in form and function. Just as morality was a bond, in the pre-war stage, between those having general interests in common, so it continues to be after the coming of classes. But this group with a community of interests is no longer the whole community, but a class within it. The ruling class has a morality which fits in with its

interest, and, generally speaking, it uses the force which it controls in accordance with the dictates of its ethics, the main principles of which are expressed in its State-made law.

Likewise with the subject class, where its members think over and realise their interests as a class. It accepts, and as far as is possible acts up to, a morality which promotes these interests—interests the full realisation of which means—social revolution.

R. W. HOUSLEY.

(To be Continued.)

WAR FEVER IN AMERICA.

"Socialist" Activity.

Many leading "Socialists" supported the candidature of President Wilson because "he kept us out of war." Now the same alleged Socialists are supporting him because he has declared war. Ever since the Socialist Party adopted a resolution at their St. Louis Conference (1917) criticising the war these "comrades" have been resigning.

At the time of writing (September) the members of the Socialist Party of America are more active in other organisations than in their own. Scores of new reform organisations have been formed upon every pretext under the sun.

The "Intellectuals."

A. M. Simons has long been known as a great "Socialist." His Socialism (!) recently consisted of advising Congressmen of the necessity of ridding the Socialist Party of all opponents of the war and turning over to the Government inside information concerning party activity. He was expelled from the party. His co-worker in this "Socialist" work was W. R. Gaylord, the Socialist Party candidate for Congress from Wisconsin. The "intellectual" was also expelled.

Many others, however, who have been guilty of equally treacherous work, are allowed to remain in the party or else to resign with a great show of injured innocence.

John Spargo—Patriot!

John Spargo's actions ever since he made his home in America confirm our position that reformers are dangerous to the movement. He has turned his energies continuously towards helping the enemies of Socialism. At one time slandering Marx, at another time endeavouring to give a religious twist to Socialism, he has latterly filled the Press with jingoism in the name of Socialism. He has now resigned from the Socialist Party because it has criticised the war. Long indictments from him fill the columns of the capitalist papers with the usual wails of such jingoes.

"Socialist" Exports to Russia.

As soon as things looked doubtful for the continuance of the war by Russia the American Government, like their English pattern, proposed sending a Commission of friendly advice to Russia—just as though Russia had not suffered enough without having to endure delegations from the autocrats of the West—Lloyd George and President Wilson.

To lend a political touch to the Commission the President, of course, selected a "Socialist." Needless to say, the chosen one was one of the most notorious jingoes of the party, Charles Edward Russell. He has since been expelled for joining the Commission without the party consent.

Nationalist "Internationalists."

Upton Sinclair and his wife rose to fame with his book "The Jungle," and later by his exhibition of starvation as the road to happiness. He has again sought notoriety by resigning from the Socialist Party, attaching a long, wild screech about the necessity of joining the Allies in the fight for "World Democracy." Our millionaire "comrade" J. G. Phelps Stokes, and his wife Rose Pastor Stokes, have also joined the "struggle for liberty" and resigned from the party.

William English Walling, W. J. Ghent, (ex-Rev.) Geo. D. Herron, Robert R. La Monte, and Allan Benson (Presidential candidate), are

among the number of the (in)famous supporters of the war in America.

All Workers Unite—Except Germans!

Most of these "comrades" seized the opportunity of the Russian situation to send a telegram to the Russian Soldiers and Peasants Council, begging the workers of Russia not to make a separate peace. In the name of "World Democracy" and of Western liberty they beseeched them to keep in the fight to smash Germany and free Europe of the horror of future war! Mrs. Jack London consecrated (!) her husband's memory by signing the reactionary message. Spargo is now calling upon them to form a new party—a "real Socialist party" on the lines of the nationalistic body that H. M. Hyndman adorns in England.

Several new papers have sprung into existence to voice the views of each section. Louis M. Boudin, author of "Theoretical System of Karl Marx," objected to the telegram sent by Victor Berger and Maurice Hillquit to President Wilson at the outbreak of war. This telegram begged the President to place an embargo on all boats in the danger zone.

Boudin claimed this was pro-German. At the St. Louis Conference he quarrelled with some of his fellow members of the S.P. Executive, and has been active ever since combatting the views of Hillquit.

One notable recantation he made at the St. Louis Conference was that he withdrew his support of national defence at the end of his book on Socialism and War.

"The Class Struggle."

Boudin and others have started a new monthly—"The Class Struggle"—to express their aims. In the main it is against the war, but it supports the growing Industrial Unionist movement without explaining its real value. Many of the contributors are also connected with the "New Internationalist," the monthly paper of the Socialist Propaganda League. This is an organisation of the self-styled "left wing" of the Socialist Party of America. Their advanced teaching consists mainly of supporting "direct action" by means of Industrial Unionism. This anti-Socialist propaganda is carried on in conjunction with "The International Socialist Review."

The "Socialist for President."

Allan Benson of the Socialist Party was boomed as the great anti-war Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party in Nov. 1916. Workingmen throughout America objected to sending a capitalist with Elihu Root's black record as chairman of the U.S. commission to Russia. Allan Benson showed his revolutionary conceptions by issuing the following to the Press from Yonkers, N.Y., on May 4th:

If the German submarines are sinking 400,000 tons of shipping a week it doesn't make any difference whether we send Elihu Root or Billy Sunday to Russia. Elimination of the submarine is the thing of paramount importance, overshadowing everything else. I never regarded Root as a good exponent of democratic principles, nor do I now regard him as such. But I have no sympathy with any opposition to Root which is really more of an attempt to bring about a separate peace between Russia and Germany than it is to prevent Root going. I would infinitely rather have Root go on the commission than have some man who might work for a separate peace between Russia and Germany.

The Call of the Wild.

One of the curious documents of the war is Upton Sinclair's resignation statement sent to local Pasadena (California) of the Socialist Party. Below is an interesting extract taken from the "New York Call" (July 18):

I say that this war must be fought until there has been a thorough and complete democratization of the governments of Germany and Austria, and I say that any agitation for peace which does not include this demand is, whether it realizes it or not, a pro-German agitation. The argument that we have no right to say under what institution the German people shall live seems to me without force. The Germans did not scruple to make war on the French and to set up a republic in that country. They did this because they believed that a republic would be less formidable from a military standpoint; and it is now on the cards that the world shall do the same thing for the Germans, and to the same purpose. For these reasons, Comrades, I cannot follow you

in your declaration that this is "the most unjustifiable war in history," or in your policy of mass opposition to the draft. But I would not have you think that I have gone over bag and baggage to the capitalist system. I believe that there is a work of enormous importance to be done by the forces of radicalism in the present crisis.

The Blind Leading the Blind.

On May 12th the capitalist Press was ablaze with the long telegram to the German Socialists sent by some of the prominent "Socialist" jingoes. I reproduce below the essentials of the traitorous message:

The democratic peoples of the world now in league against the kaiser and kaiserism will be compelled to continue their war against Germany and her autocratic allies until the kaiser and kaiserism are overthrown. The German Socialist faction that opposes the Government has already realised that both an early peace and German liberty require that the power of the kaiser should be rigidly and immediately curtailed and they have announced the following program as a cure for kaiserism:

Responsibility of the government to the reichstag, reichstag control of peace and war; equal reichstag election districts; abolition of the upper houses of the states and the empire, as well as equal suffrage in Prussia—now apparently on the way to accomplishment tho not yet promised even "after the war."

This program is fundamental and excellent—so excellent, indeed, that it is extremely unlikely to be granted without a protracted series of overwhelming German defeats. It is fully half of what is needed. But it is not enough. The Hohenzollerns must go.

Therest of the world realises, whether the German people realise or not, that liberty in Germany and peace in the world must remain a sham as long as the Hohenzollerns and their supporters retain any real power.

But whether Germany prefers a republic or a constitutional monarchy the Hohenzollerns tradition and prestige must not only be reformed—it must be broken.

The kaiser himself claims that kaiserism is to be democratized and strengthened in its fight against the other nations. It will be difficult if not impossible to convince the democracies of the world that a reformed kaiserism is anything else than an effort of the Hohenzollerns to make the German people more willing tools of his foreign policy. Nothing but the overthrow of the autocrat can prove finally to the world that the German people repudiate his past crimes and refuse to have any share in the crimes he is planning for the future.

There is only one way to bring the war to an early end—the kaiser must go.

Signed to the cable were these names:

Wingfield R. Gaylord, "Socialist" candidate for congress from Milwaukee; Robert Dives La Monte, Socialist author and editor of Connecticut; Charles Edward Russell, Socialist candidate for governor of New York, 1914; A. M. Simons, world-renowned Socialist, editor and author; J. G. Phelps Stokes; Rose Pastor Stokes, author; William English Walling, author and Henry L. Slobodin, formerly national secretary of the American Socialists' committee.

Judas!

An instance of the treachery can be gathered from the following cutting from the daily papers in America of May 4th:

SOCIALISTS IN U.S.A. CAN'T URGE PEACE.

WASHINGTON, May 4.—German Socialists in the United States who attempt to force or influence a separate peace between Russia and Germany will be dealt with to the full extent of American laws.

The state department indicated this today following publication of charges by J. G. Phelps Stokes, that some of the German wings of American Socialists are trying to force such a peace. Such efforts are considered extremely treasonable acts.

The new censorship will be applied vigorously to prevent the socialists communicating with the Slav leaders.

An indication of the attitude of the coming party is revealed by the following:

Expressing Socialism in terms of American life and experience, this new party . . . will not cling to formulae and let the substance of the Socialist hope pass by unnoticed. . . . It will make its appeal not to one class alone, but to all men and women of good will and social vision. It will be a party of toilers, not because it sets them apart and panders to them, but because its principle carried into effect must bring their emancipation.—(John Spargo in the "Philadelphia Public Ledger.")

Thus the English reader will observe that the language and methods of the traitor are curiously similar, whichever hemisphere they belong to. Their dainty stomachs revolt at the idea of the class struggle, while they bawl for butchery by nations.

A. KORN.

SOCIALISM AND SCIENCE.

HOW SCIENCE LEADS CAPITALISM TO ITS DOOM.

From the start of the great war up to the present day much has been said and written about German science and organisation. The extremely rapid advance upon the forts of Namur and Liege, where guns of unheard-of calibre and deadliness were used, and the subsequent sweeping descent upon Paris, were admitted by even Allied military critics to be remarkable examples of scientific military achievement. Realising that only by resorting to science could such methods be successfully met, Allied effort was unanimously directed to scientific research. So we see new departments set up in this country, specially staffed, to investigate new inventions likely to be of service in combating the scientist across the Rhine.

But turning from science in the service of Mars to science as applied to industry, we see again astonishing results. As far back as 1909 Mr. Balfour delivered an address at Manchester University upon the subject of science in its relation to economic affairs and as a basis for present-day education. The concluding words of his speech are worthy of perusal. He said:

The great advancement of mankind is to be looked for in our ever-increasing knowledge of the secrets of nature—secrets, however, which are not to be unlocked by those who pursue them for purely material ends, but secrets which are open in their fulness only to men who pursue them in a disinterested spirit. The motive power which is really going to change the external surface of civilisation, which is going to add to the well-being of mankind, which is going to stimulate the imagination of all those who are interested in the universe in which our lot is cast—that lies after all with science. I would sooner be known as having added to the sum of our knowledge of the truth of nature than anything else I can imagine. Unfortunately for me, my opportunities have lain in different directions.

If Mr. Balfour has been unfortunate in that his opportunities have lain in a different direction, those opportunities have assuredly brought greater material fortune than generally falls to the lot of scientists. The life stories of Linnaeus, John Kay, Lavoisier, Marx, and countless others demonstrate the usual reward of the men of science. The capitalist system stands condemned if only by reason of its brutal crimes against its men of genius.

To-day we hear unceasing talk of the need in this and other countries for improved industrial methods, and of the necessity for taking pattern from our most studious and scientific "enemies" from Dusseldorf and other towns in the German manufacturing districts. Yet what does all this mean even if carried out? It must lead to one thing—and here the Socialist explodes that nonsensical piffle about the formation of a "league of nations"—it must mean competition in a more intensified form than anything hitherto endured, and as a natural sequence, more terrible struggles over trade routes and markets.

The history of science is a history of ceaseless opposition of the most brutal and degrading kind at the hands of the followers of Christian teaching. Galileo, who, when a boy, discovered the law of the pendulum's motion by observing a lamp swinging from the roof of the cathedral at Pisa, and who later constructed one of the first telescopes, was subjected to the most persistent tyranny at the hands of the Roman Catholic Church. The most deliberate lying and hypocritical abuse was directed upon the youth of Pisa as he persistently swept the heavens with his telescope, more especially when he revealed the mountains and valleys of the moon. No less brutal was the spiteful war waged by the Christians against Nicholas Copernicus, up to that time a Christian follower himself, because of his compilation of his book "Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies." Protestant and Catholic sank their differences in order to persecute Kepler, because his discovery of the motion of the planets undermined the chief tenets of the churches.

The extent to which scientific research has been hampered and put back by vitriolic Christian spite will never, perhaps, be known.

It remained for such men as Halley and Newton to administer what is regarded as the coupe-de-grace to such opposition, and to definitely establish for all time the triumph of scientific achievement over ignorance and superstition.

But not merely in the field of astronomy was bitter opposition met with. Geography, geology, chemistry, physics, anatomy and medicine, and finally political economy, all aroused the deepest animosity on the part of those whose interests were affected. Such economists as Adam Smith, Ricardo, and John Stuart Mill were quite acceptable to the master class, but the genius of Marx, so damaging to the very foundations of capitalist domination, compelled the modern master class to resort to the weapons of its priestly predecessors.

To-day we perceive the international capitalist class falling over itself in its efforts to employ new methods of wealth production. With the securing of political power, to which all economic power is subservient, the masters were assured of all the benefits accruing from the genius of their slave-workers, since without capital the working of the discovery is usually impossible, and the capitalist State is careful never to assist the needy inventor to securely place his own invention.

More than one great thinker have embraced suicide rather than witness the exploitation of their life's work by the financial thieves to whom they have been forced to entrust their theorising. Others have died wretchedly, breathing hatred of the gross injustices of modern society. The tragedy of John Kay, and that of Heinrich Heine, one of the greatest of lyrical poets, were bad enough, in all conscience, but many worse are on record. The hostility which was turned upon Copernicus was later used in despair against Darwin, and with no more success. In 1874 Bishop Cummings, a well-known American Church dignitary, said with regard to the work of Darwin:

The Church has no fear of science; the persecution of Galileo was entirely unwarrantable; but Christians should resist to the last Darwinism, for that is evidently contrary to Scripture.

Bishop Cummings apparently forgot that the theories of Galileo were just as much opposed to the Scriptures as were the theories of Darwin, else why the persecution of the man?

The views of the Church upon the subject of the Darwinian theory were never better expressed than in a letter published in "The Church Chronicle" (New York), May 28, 1874. It read:

Darwinism—whether Darwin knows it or not; whether the clergy, who are half prepared to accept it as "science," know it or not—is a denial of every article of the Christian faith. It is supreme folly to talk as some do about accommodating Christianity to Darwinism. Either those who talk so do not understand Christianity, or they do not understand Darwinism. If we have all—men and monkeys, women and baboons, oysters and eagles—all developed from an original monad or germ, then St. Paul's grand deliverance—"All flesh is not the same flesh. There is one kind of flesh of men, another kind of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds. There are bodies celestial and bodies terrestrial"—may still be very grand in our funeral service, but very untrue to fact.

So much, then, for the onslaught of the Church upon one more triumph of scientific research. To-day the masters are calling all the resources of science to their aid for the purpose of increasing their opportunities of exploiting the workers. That such exploitation lies at the root of all modern wars has been pointed out by Socialists for many years.

The rapid advance in machinery means the creation of an ever-growing surplus of commodities. The need for foreign markets for the disposal of this produce is the cause of almost every international dispute. The struggle for international wealth grows greater even as the paucity of new markets makes itself more manifest. As is so clearly demonstrated by H. de B. Gibbins in his "Industrial History of England": "The nations must go on fighting for an outlet for the extra wealth produced, otherwise the whole gigantic system of international commerce must break down by the mere weight of its own intensity."

Analysis of the structure of capitalist society demonstrates how nations producing for profit

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 469, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Midstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 10 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

and not for social use create a surplus of commodities. Thus we arrive at the keynote of this competitive system, and, incidentally, the true cause of all its warfare.

So long, therefore, as capitalism survives must we endure warfare. Socialisation of the means and instruments of production and distribution in the interest of the whole people is the only possible solution, and this can only be achieved by the working class itself. The more the master class try to delude themselves that science is on their side the greater becomes the instability of capitalist domination. Science can only find its true expression in a sane, commonsense order of society as outlined by the S.P.G.B. Once the workers become educated enough to realise the possibilities behind our proposals the doom of capitalism will most assuredly be at hand. B.B.B.

Any person who is unable to regularly obtain copies of this paper can be supplied from the Head Office, 193 Gray's Inn Rd., London, W.C.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of production and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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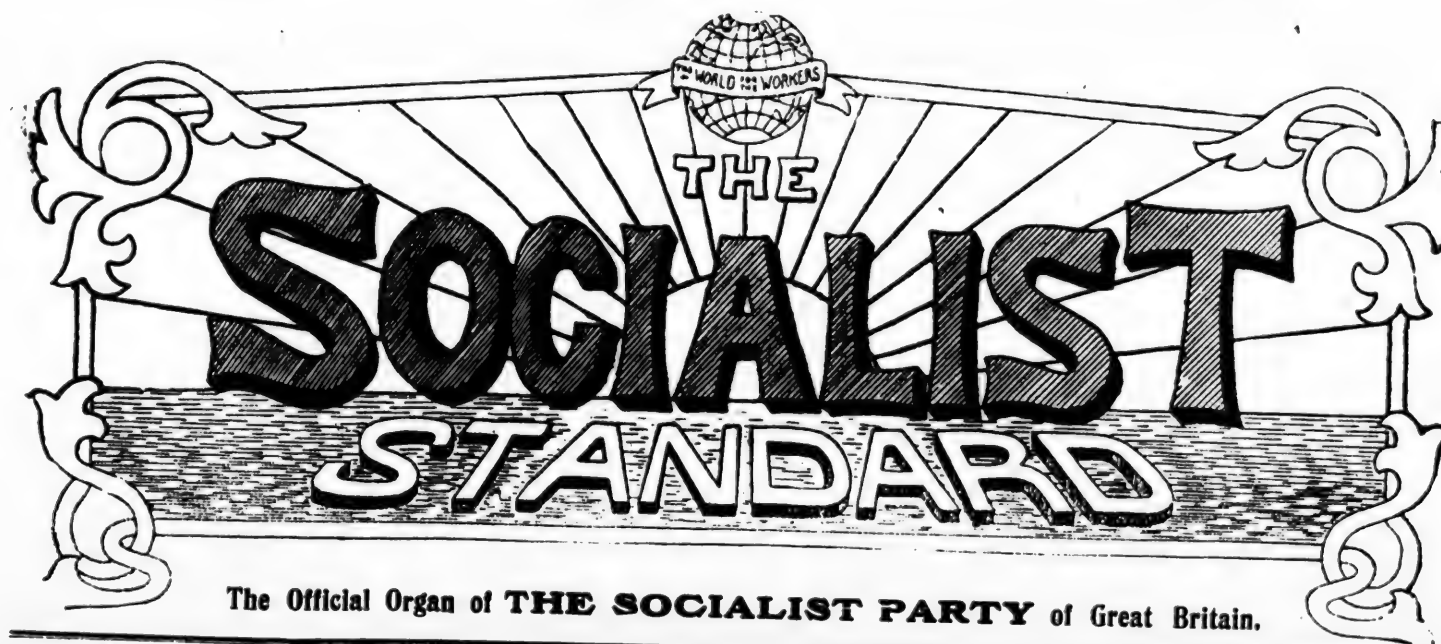
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LONDON, DECEMBER, 1917.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

SOCIALISM'S TRADUCERS.

AMERICAN PSEUDO-SOCIALIST'S MANIFESTO CRITICISED.

One great difference between the master class and the working class is the clear grip the former have—despite their scientific and sociological ignorance—of the insecurity of their position as a ruling class. The workers in a large number of cases, have not even grasped the fact that a ruling class exists, and so are quite puzzled at the various social actions going on around them, the effects of which they feel without understanding the cause.

But a certain number—a minority at present—are beginning to understand that there is some connection between the evils they suffer from and the fact that they have to work for a master. This understanding is confused and even vague with many at the moment, but its existence is beyond dispute, and causes a good deal of uneasiness among the masters.

To meet this spreading understanding, that contains at its core a number who clearly grasp the fact of their being slaves under this system of society, and which number grows as the vague understanding increases, the masters use various agents and agencies to mislead the workers, to hide the facts of the case or to strenuously deny them, and to endeavour to increase the confusion of thought existing among those who are beginning to have a faint glimpse of the truth.

By far the greatest danger the masters are faced with is the steady spreading of the knowledge of the class struggle that must exist in a society divided into masters and slaves. The great work of Marx and Engels in laying the foundations of this social truth has always excited their hatred, and they have attempted in various ways to minimise the effect of this work. At first it was ignored in the hope that silence would kill it. When this failed it was derided and jeered at. At a later stage attempts were made to meet the Marxian case by pretended arguments and serious replies. The tricky journalist W. H. Mallock tried several explanations of the phenomena of surplus-value, each contradicting the other, ending with his claim, without the slightest evidence to support it, that the increase in wealth production was due to the marvellous mental ability of a few individuals who have only begun to appear on this planet during the 19th century.

At the other end of the scale we have professors like Bohm-Bawerk, who, flatly contradicting the Mallock theory, claim that surplus-value is due to a future estimate of a present good.

But Bohm-Bawerk's views are embodied in large and expensive volumes beyond the reach of most workers; Mallock's laboured case is also out of the worker's way, being more often met with in high-priced journals than in the ordinary newspapers. Moreover, the facts of social and industrial development began to

drive home to increasing numbers of the workers the truths of the Socialist case.

The cleverest of the master class began to look for new methods to meet this danger and started a scheme far more misleading to the workers than any of the misrepresentations of Mallock or the slimy shuffles of Bernard Shaw.

They and their agents began to popularise the term "Socialism" by tacking it on to every little reform or collective action taken through the Government or Municipal bodies.

The world-war has given them numerous new opportunities for this misuse of the word. It has brought to the front in clearer light than before, the fact that men passing as Socialists, such as Barnes, Stanton, Parker, Roberts, Henderson, Hyndman, Thorne, Tillett, and so on, were all the time merely agents of the master class who used their positions and influence to mislead the workers on the question of Socialism and the truths it embodies.

Vigorous attempts have been made to trick the workers into believing that Socialism meant taking part in the quarrels among the capitalists over markets, etc., even to the workers slaughtering each other by the million, while the capitalists look on and laugh at their amazing folly.

How similar are the methods employed by the capitalist class the world over is shown by the Manifesto of the Nationalist "Socialists" of America, published in the November issue of this journal. For over two and a half years America refrained from official participation in the war. No sooner does she announce her intention of taking part in the mammoth slaughter than certain capitalist agents masquerading as Socialists issued the manifesto referred to in order to show how the war is justified in the interests of "Socialism." A criticism of that precious production will be found to apply generally to the similar effusions issued in the countries of all the belligerents on this war.

We are told first that—

there is a difference even from the point of view of revolutionary Socialism between democratic and autocratic governments.

The value of this statement depends entirely upon the meaning given to the word "difference." This is given a little further on, when it is said—

We believe that liberal institutions have their value, as making it possible to agitate for Socialism, and to progress towards Socialism without destructive internal conflict.

Let us examine this statement in the light of the facts. The only possible deduction from this sentence is that the "Allies" are countries with "liberal institutions" "making it possible" "to progress towards Socialism without destructive internal conflict," while the "Cen-

tral Powers" are nations in a condition quite the opposite of this. Thus we are to suppose that the shooting down of workers at Chalon, Roubaix, Lyons, Paris, etc. in France, at Featherstone, Belfast, Llanelli, Tonypandy, Dublin, and so on in the British Isles, and at Pittsburgh, Colorado, Gold City, Homestead, San Francisco in America, are not instances of "destructive internal conflict," because only working-class lives were destroyed! The "liberal institutions" with their "bloody Sundays" and "pogroms" existing in Russia when the war began, were no doubt wonderful factors in the "progress towards Socialism without destructive internal conflict," and were worth maintaining at the price of the slaughter of the working-class in the opinion of these "Socialists."

It is quite true that similar instances can be quoted from the records of Germany and Austria-Hungary; but this would only show that the actions of their "autocratic governments" are practically indistinguishable from those of the "Allies."

By their own definition of the word these so-called Socialists have failed completely to show any difference between the belligerent countries worth the sacrifice of a worker's little finger, let alone his life.

Secondly, it is stated that—MCKE.

If we could have the full revolutionary Socialist program tomorrow, we might be called upon to defend it against nations which were organised for oppression under military and aristocratic rulers.

Lovely logic! Leaving aside the absurdity of supposing one could have Socialism in a country where a large majority of the people are opposed to it, note the "if" and the "might" given as reasons for the workers taking part in the appalling slaughter of the present war. And on whose behalf? England, a short time after the war began, and America, immediately following her declaration of war, took military and autocratic measures unparalleled by any of the "aristocratic" rulers engaged on the other side. The introduction of conscription—that is the compelling of men to become murderers of their fellow men with whom they have no quarrel—without consulting the mass of the people in any way, shows a brutal ruthlessness in the two most "advanced" countries, which are supposed to possess the most "liberal institutions," that has not been surpassed in any of the other nations.

Obviously, then, the workers are not being called upon to defend their own interests, but to fight on behalf of a ruling class whose actions are of the same kind and on the same level as those of the ruling class of the Central Powers. This hypocrisy on the part of these "Socialists" is further emphasised in section three, where we are told that—

the proper aim of Socialist world politics at the present time is an alliance of the politically advanced nations for the defence of the democratic principle throughout the world.

The "democratic principle" that forces men to slaughter without even consulting them on the matter!

To say that they are "willing to fight for democracy" is more hypocrisy, as neither the present war nor the aims of the Allies is for democracy, but for plutocracy.

The stale old nonsense of a "citizen army" which we have heard here for so many years is trotted out in section six, where it is said: "We believe that there is no danger to democracy in a citizen army and navy controlled by the people." What clap-trap! Who are "the people"? In America, as in every other capitalist country, "the people" consist of two classes, the capitalist class and the wage slave class, that is, of two classes whose interests are in violent antagonism. Which of these classes would control the "citizen" army and navy while capitalism exists? As we have shown in every issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD, it would be the capitalist class. Then the "citizen" army would be used to shoot down the wage slaves in the interests of the masters in America and elsewhere, just as the "citizen" army in Switzerland has been used.

Paragraph eight, that declares for the "democratization of the military service" under capitalism is another specimen of cant, as the merest tyro in Sociology knows that one cannot have democracy among masters and slaves. The statement about the "spirit of comradeship which is found in the trenches" is a deliberate lie, for no more in the trenches than in the training camp dare a private speak to an officer without permission, nor can he even take shelter in the same dug-out, except in special circumstances. The few accounts of the treatment of the men by their officers that have leaked through the rigid censorship give a significant picture of the "spirit of comradeship" to be found on the battle front.

It is, however, in the ninth paragraph that we find the truth revealed in the utmost nakedness. Here we are told:

Our military training should be made the physical culture part of our public school training. It should be begun in childhood thru the work of the Boy and Girl Scouts.

Not only are these "Socialists" in favour of conscription for men, but they wish to extend it to children, boys and girls alike, and to instil into their plastic minds the sordid brutalities of militarism in the interests of the master class. This carries militarism beyond anything yet attempted by the Germans.

The people who were boasting of their willingness to "fight for democracy" now demand the most reactionary and degrading system of training it is possible to establish, and would attempt to foul the name of Socialism by stating that their treacherous proposals are items in a Socialist programme. This is further added to when in paragraph ten they say: "A vital military system should be an organic part of the national life." This is exactly what the Allies claim exists in Germany to-day, and which they declare it is their aim to crush! "Even if Germany were willing to make peace," it is said, "we must go on till the Prussian military system is destroyed." While a militarism even more foul and brutal is to be established in the "advanced" countries with "liberal institutions." What a huge lesson in the hypocrisy of the claims about the war aims of the Allies is given by this document!

So far is it from removing "Prussian militarism," that one great result of the war will be the establishment of the same militarism in the "advanced" nations who were previously lacking in this particular brand. This result was not only foreseen, but was deliberately worked for by certain of the capitalists in these countries because they realise how insecure is their position to-day and wish to guard against being overthrown. In America, as in Europe, they have found willing helpers in the slimy lick-spittles, some of whose names are given above, and whose colleagues signed the document which was printed in the last issue of this journal. Their claims to speak as Socialists are as false as they are foul, but it is a tactic to

be expected and it can only be met by constant exposure of these frauds and the persistent propaganda of the class struggle existing, whose ultimate conclusion will be a world order of peace under Socialism. J. FITZGERALD.

[Just as this is being sent to the printer the papers announce that Parliament has decided by a majority of 38 to disfranchise the conscientious objector to military service. The question may come up again before the Bill becomes law, but the passing of this amendment tears away one of the last pretences that the war is for "freedom" and "liberal institutions," when the "freedom of opinion" so long boasted of as an Englishman's birthright is now openly and officially trampled upon, as it has been in more or less unofficial ways all through the war. J. F.]

'WEEPING AND WAILING AND GNASHING OF TEETH.'

S.L.P.'S CRY FROM "OUTER DARKNESS."

By FIRST EDITOR.

A great thing has happened. Those in charge of our contemporary, "The Socialist," who promised to reply to our attack upon the Socialist Labour Party's attitude to the war, if they had room, have found room. Yes, in spite of the pressure on their space caused by the demands of the "New Machinery Fund" badge, in spite also of the fact that space had to be reserved for "A.E.C." to confuse working class readers with absurd and unsound economics, they have found room to take the matter up.

Of course, they have been very kind to us. They were going to "prick the S.P.G.B. bubble," but they have not had the heart even to try to do so. The "bubble" still floats above their heads—a cussed nuisance nobly borne for sweet charity's sake. They are an injured party, like the camel, and they complain in the patient voice of that ill-used quadruped. We spread our attack over a page of our official journal (sorry!); we criticise "now regarding" a discussion on the war which took place in 1914" (profuse apologies! We ought to have forgotten all about it long ago); we "criticise where mistakes are made," and "keep criticising because mistakes are rectified" (what a lot of beastly habits we appear to have contracted in our short span of existence!); and we have done other things which hurt.

And how different has been the conduct of those against whom we have launched "such a massed and elaborate attack"! They, in that kindness of heart which can find an excuse for any villain, "entered the present discussion" on behalf of the I.L.P. and B.S.P., and they inform us, have "defended the S.P.G.B. and their paper" (they don't say now whether they are referring to the Small Party of Good Boys [vide August "Socialist"] or to us) "against what we considered to be an unworthy slight on the part of the 'Labour Leader.'" Nor is this all. In spite of the fact that in this case virtue has had to be its own reward, they have promised to do it again should occasion demand.

This is heaping coals of fire on our unworthy head. We smote them on one cheek, and instead of hitting back, instead even of doing up their breeches and "oppin' it," they simply turn the other! But how can one smite again in the face of such childlike faith? Their magnanimity abashes us; their humility disarms us. Give us the sackcloth and ashes and put tin-tacks in our shoes—we will do penance.

No! a better idea. We will hie ourselves to the place where, as "The Socialist" put it in August, "The Socialist Party of Great Britain happens to take his meals" and there get a skinful of humble pie, comforted by which, upon our return we shall be in the beneficent humour to heal wounds and wipe away all tears.

By SECOND EDITOR.

Will he, the old fool! When he comes back he will find that WE have done the job for him. Now then, where are we? They say that their charge

against us "ranked." If that reflection comforts them we can afford to leave them in possession of it; if it was their object it should help to swell the "New Machinery Fund." Our opponents' next point is that we spread our reply over a page of our journal. This may or may not be a sign that their charge against us "ranked," but since events have shown that they cannot answer it, we may say that it would puzzle them to fill a page with unanswerable criticism of our actions, not since the war only, but during the whole thirteen years of our existence.

"It may seem strange to most of our readers that we are criticised now regarding a discussion on the war which took place in 1914" we read. But the few may remember that in the August "Socialist" we were invited to "compare the S.L.P. and the S.P.G.B. in their actions," and told: "Our actions back up our words." We compared their actions by invoking the words which they backed up. It is not our fault that our opponents forgot to put a time limit.

In last month's "Socialist" it is claimed that "the S.L.P. as an organisation has never been divided regarding its attitude towards war." In this statement there are two wriggles. The first is the use of the phrase "as an organisation." It is quite clear that under such a qualification, used in the way they use it, division is almost a physical impossibility. The second wriggle is the omission of the definite article before the word "war." We are not concerned for the moment with the attitude of the S.L.P. "as an organisation . . . towards war." We claim that the S.L.P. was divided in its attitude towards the war. The Editor of "The Socialist" himself said: "That there are differences in the S.L.P., as in other parties, on the question of the war must have been apparent to most readers of 'The Socialist.'" We are now told that the party repudiated that. But the facts are there and cannot be got rid of by repudiation—after they "got wise."

Our opponents' latest argument is really comic. "It is true," they admit, abandoning the lie that the pro-war writers were "in every case non-members of the party" ("The Socialist," Aug. '17) "that a discussion took place in the columns of 'The Socialist' regarding the war. It is true that some of the disputants urged the party to declare for the war. But the very fact that these pro-war writers sought to win the rank and file to their view is the proof that the views of the writers were not the views of the party membership." And by the same token, the very fact that others of the disputants, urging an opposite course, tried to win the rank and file to their view, is the proof that their views were not the views of the party membership! Well, we said they did not know where they were.

"The editorial note of which our critics make so much play," we are told in our opponent's latest effusion, "was repudiated by the unanimous decision of the party." Then why doesn't the party purge itself of the man who, two years after the date of the party decision (presuming that the statement is not another lie), had so little respect for it and for party discipline that he could write: "This note was quite in order"?

As for the S.L.P.'s implication that we are lacking in magnanimity in our attacks upon our foes, if we were out for compliments we should thank them for that one. That an offence committed in 1914 may have been rectified in 1915 neither closes our mouths concerning it nor secures our congratulation. In itself the offence is a symptom of something else—ignorance or roguery. No working class political party firmly grounded on the class struggle could possibly lend its official organ, with or without an official pronouncement of policy, to the support of capitalist war, whether such support comes from members or non-members of the party. That is the salient point. We attack the S.L.P., not to "rankle," but because it is rotten at the base and stands between the workers and the light. Further proof of this is provided by the statement that its criticism of the B.S.P. and I.L.P. is "inspired by the fervent desire of linking together the Labour forces and giving them a revolutionary objective." Nice revolutionaries, those who would build for revolution with such material.

Ed. Com.

ARE SOCIALISTS SLACKERS?

There is no object for which the capitalist class might enlist or conscript the Socialist that could, by any conceivable argument, be considered by him to coincide with his interests. The sole aim and object of the Socialist is the establishment of Socialism. It matters little to him, as regards the direction of his revolutionary energy, that he may not live to see its fulfilment: his interest is bound up with his class, and the necessity imposed on that class to prepare itself for the organised and conscious effort that will carry it through the convulsions of social revolution to a complete transformation of Society.

The emancipation of the working class can only mean extinction for the capitalist class. The latter must be deprived of ownership in the means of wealth production. This is the conscious aim of the Socialist, because only by that means can the power of the ruling class be broken. The Socialist objective is to strip the capitalist class of the power they wield to-day—to take from that class that which gives them the power to exploit, and makes of them a separate and ruling class.

Stripped of political power and ownership in the means of wealth production, capitalists and capitalism cease to be, and the working class, having rendered them powerless by capturing the machinery of government, are at once free to organise production and distribution on the basis of common ownership and democratic control.

Such an object is contrary to every capitalist interest. It denies to the capitalist the right of exploitation, the right to govern, the right to live in idleness and luxury: it even denies to capitalists the right of existence as a separate class inside the social organism.

The Socialist is committed to the task of ending capitalist industry. He is convinced by facts, figures, and experience that the capitalist class are parasitic, are useless, pernicious, corrupt, brutal and hypocritical; he is convinced that their affluence is the result of robbery, and that the poverty of his class is due to this robbery.

In the light of this knowledge the Socialist confronts the ruling class as the implacable enemies of his class. There can be no affinity of interests, no compromise, no object in common that can unite him with that class. He is pledged in complete antagonism. Convinced by irrefutable evidence of the truth of his position, he stands shoulder to shoulder with his comrades in the red army, determined to wage the class war to the utter extinction of capitalism.

His slavery is real, ever-present, all-engrossing. Beside it monarchies, markets, nationality and empires are as dust in the balance. He can only wipe out the degradation of it by waging incessant and relentless war on the class that enslave him. And that class, fully conscious of his antagonism, knowing his object, alive to its meaning and significance, must know that the Socialist would not voluntarily give one moment of his time nor one ounce of his energy, to the fulfilment of any object espoused by them.

To call the Socialist a slacker is therefore absurd and peevish. In pre-war days the capitalist and his agents failed to conceal their chagrin and annoyance at the steady advance of Socialism. To-day they endeavour to bridle their mortification at the opposition they meet with. For the moment the Socialist is the lesser enemy, and his antagonism is submerged by the hubbub of patriotism raised by labour leaders and self-styled Socialists, who have only adopted the name that they might serve capitalist interests more effectively.

Every capitalist newspaper contains columns of support from prominent Socialists, so-called. Fraternisation—by order of the capitalist—is to be the policy of the Socialist. The capitalist would have the class war suspended while his business war remains undecided. More, he would even conscript the conscious and stalwart enemies of his class and drag them from the noble and glorious fight they are waging, and sacrifice them like pawns on the military chess-

board glad to be rid of them, even if their going helped him not at all towards a decisive victory and a firmer grip on the markets of the world.

But it is only the dupes of the false Socialists that are snared by the fraternisation cry. The Socialist, who understood Socialism and meant Socialism, even before the war—years before—declared emphatically that no conceivable circumstances could possibly justify the suspension of the class war. The irreparable injury inflicted upon the working class by the master class placed all thought of armistice or compromise out of the question. While the robbery of the working class proceeds, while they are enslaved and impoverished, it is the duty—a duty he owes to himself, to his class, and to posterity—of every Socialist to expose every capitalist bait that may tempt the workers, to lay bare the hollow nature of all their protestations, the futility of all their reforms, and the baseness and greed that stimulates all their actions. It is the duty of the Socialist to dissect and lay bare before a politically ignorant working class, the capitalist process of exploitation. The working class can only emancipate themselves when educated and organised. Can those who join in the performance of such a task be termed idlers or slackers? The colossal nature of the task answers the question. There is no slackness about the Socialist; others may be drifted and drafted, through sheer apathy, spinelessness, and ignorance, into capitalist enterprises, but he is occupied to the full. The class war is the only war that matters to him, and all the energy left to him after his periods of exploitation, is absorbed in its prosecution.

It is more ridiculous and absurd for the British capitalist to call the Socialist a slacker than it would be for him to rail at the German capitalist for not assisting in his own defeat. Their present enmity will pass. Their pre-war understanding and international solidarity against the workers of the world will be re-established—some day; but the class war is a war that must be fought to a finish, a war that will increase in bitterness as economic conditions intensify and the ruling class, actuated by the desire to maintain their supremacy, descend to even more infamous and brutal methods of suppression than they employ to-day.

But whatever the tactics or policy of the ruling class, the Socialist will neither be deceived nor intimidated. When they appoint their bourgeois friends and agents—men like Kerensky, Thomas, and Lloyd George—to act as leaders and make pronouncements for the Socialists, they will be stripped of their disguise and exposed as frauds. When all such methods fail to deceive the workers and armed force alone keeps them in subjection, the Socialist will fearlessly reiterate his advice to capture the machinery of government and use the armed forces against the enemies of Socialism.

Those who believe in the righteousness of the allied cause but fail to take their share of the work and danger, slinking into the munition factory or skulking behind jobs of so-called national importance while shouting their loudest for a military triumph to be accomplished by others—those are the slackers. Those who plead before tribunals on any but Socialist grounds, although they plead in accordance with capitalist law, are not only slackers, but humbugs. Christain, Quaker, and humanitarian can all justify their objection to fighting by extracts from their book of superstitions. But the fighting parson can also justify his bloodthirsty attitude from the same source—such is the accommodating character of the Christian religion and the farcical nature of the conscientious objection.

Capitalist politicians, in the past, have said that the working class, unrestrained by capitalist authority, were powerless for anything but destruction and anarchy. But even while it was being said capitalism was drifting helplessly toward the present maelstrom of slaughter and devastation. With full power and authority over the wealth producers, the capitalist class cannot safeguard them against poverty and starvation, although the wealth actually produced by the workers would suffice for a population three times as large. Capitalism failed to protect the workers in peace-time from poverty

and anarchy. It has even failed to keep the peace. Its failure is complete—a failure for all men to see. Yet still the ruling class pretend to hope—for what? A solution of the poverty "problem"? No, for that would end their supremacy. They hope that the working class, the bulk of society, will continue to leave them in possession of all the means of wealth production; that idleness and luxury may still be theirs; that the right to exploit shall still belong to them, even though their rule is responsible for a continuous glut of wealth side by side with universal poverty, periodically culminating in a welter of blood and an orgy of destruction.

To support such a system is a crime against the working class. To work steadfastly for its abolition is meritorious and sensible. The Socialist, therefore, takes no side in capitalist quarrels, but works consistently for the overthrow of capitalism. He does not believe in the righteousness of any of the belligerents, because the capitalist class of each nation lives by the robbery of his class. His object is to end the chaos and ruin that afflicts society. Let those who bolster up or tolerate such a system compare their actions with his and then ask themselves who are the criminals and slackers of modern society. F. F.

CHILDREN OR ORE?

The question of Alsace-Lorraine has received considerable attention from the political and journalistic hirelings of the capitalist class. A vast amount of sloppy sentiment has been thrust upon us with the object of covering up the real facts at issue, a good example of which comes from Mr. Lloyd George.

"However long the war may be," says, that worthy, "however great the strain upon our resources, this country intends to stand by her gallant ally, France, until she redeems her oppressed children from the degradation of a foreign yoke."

What noble words! How can this high character resist the temptation to take part in such a righteous cause! It may be that Mr. Churchill has given him advice on the subject.

Knowing the history of the capitalist class, Socialists reject with scorn their professed sympathy for the workers of any nation. Material interest dominates their every action, as the following demonstrates.

"If Germany could secure a peace based on her present military position" says a writer in the "Daily Chronicle," 24.10.17, "the whole of this wealth of iron ore, estimated at some 5,000,000,000 tons, would pass under her control." And further on we read: "Liberate those provinces from her clutch with their 21,000,000 tons of iron ore a year, their 3,800,000 tons of iron smeltings, their 2,300,000 tons of steel smeltings, and useful coalfields of the Somme Valley, and a long step has been taken towards peace."

The thoughts of that iron ore will no doubt urge "our gallant ally" to "redeem her oppressed children."

Terrible as is the idea of that 21,000,000 tons of ore, not to mention the iron and steel smeltings, passing into the hands of the German capitalists, there is something even worse in view.

"Suppose," continues the article coolly, "Germany were to win and were to annex the greater half of the ferruginous basin that lies on French soil. Territorially it would be a very small acquisition. Economically its value would be inestimable. It would mean that after the war Germany would be able to raise some 46,000,000 tons of iron ore a year, while the French output would be reduced to a bare 4,600,000.

What a nightmare to the French capitalists! We can almost hear them moaning with Asquith that "no sacrifice can be too great when 46,000,000 tons of iron ore are at stake."

Numerous other figures are given by the writer of the article. We are told, for instance, that with an Allied victory "France would be in a position to extract about 43,000,000 tons of ore a year and Germany would have to remain satisfied with a maximum yield of 8,000,000 tons."

our concreteness of Socialism. Timing the thing leaves "F.F.," and I take it the S.P.G.B. stranded.

"F.F." gets out of it all by saying: "If all the people were Socialists to-night—could anything be more impossible or absurd?" Yes, this reply. Which is the absurdity, the "if," the "to-night," or the "all the people?"

Anybody can "if," so it cannot be that, and as you'll want all the people or most of them with you, it cannot be that, and as I never said the people would be Socialists "to-night," it isn't that. We are left, therefore, with a typically anti-Socialist "argument" pretending to reply to a Socialist question. Yet "F.F." admits in a previous breath that underlying the dictum "Labour-power produces all economic wealth" is intimated one possible answer—to this "absurdity." Should I succeed in finding exactly what people would do to-morrow morning on the strength of my impressions and understanding of Socialism, why should it not be done? What they would do I would do and what I would do they would do. It is a mere accumulation of my individuality acting on the basis of my impressions of Socialism. Why should I put off thinking out what would or should be done to give live Socialism a chance, a start, just because others have not troubled?

Socialism is not to me, and ought not to be to anyone else, what others would do without me, and as it must, under those circumstances, present itself to be, a pure speculation, a nebulous programme of well-juggled phrases, that does not satisfy me, if it satisfies you.

I put the extreme test, my essential question, to myself, and I answer that if all were like me, say to-morrow, we would go to work just as usual, in the old coal-pit or saw-pit, in the same field or factory, ship-yard or show-room, bakery or workshop—just as usual. We would go on producing, but the shopman—the keystone to the edifice of "realising" surplus-value, the man who does the trick for the capitalist in that he takes money for the products, sells them, exchanges them, would do nothing of the kind any more. He would give the "goods" away instead.

Herein the least interference would be made with the existing social order with all its complexities, but the greatest damage would be done to the exploiting principle in it. It would be annihilated, in fact.

The effect of such action would be immediately felt in free-everything instead of looking to the moonshine of a remote democracy of intellects. While the old strikers were charged with stopping production and starting starvation, the boot would be now on the foot of those who would interfere, in this case, with production.

Instead of delegating some bounder to perform the miracle of "representing" you, you set about the job yourself. And so on and so on. Any Socialist can work it out for himself.

The lack of concreteness, suggestive of an active part for everyone to play in the economic revolution, giving no momentum to propaganda, has created the stagnation and mistrust that has overwhelmed working-class movements in the world of Socialism.

The overbearing interpretation of Society as a gutter of material phenomena through which marches a helpless working class that can only find salvation in general elections and mechanics on the Woolsack, is a looking-backward proposition of no earthly use. The decrying and taboing of initiative and assertiveness, qualities of great value possessed by every Socialist, and left to rot for want of probing, has given place to the worship of such self-contradictory absurdities as "Democracy" and "social-property," and to the study of our revolution as if it were a lesson in mathematics and an "As it was in the Beginning" affair.

My dear sir, Socialism is the greatest psychological proposition of the age, and from that standpoint has received scant consideration.

Let Socialists organise and come together with open mind, plain speaking, earnestness and mutual respect.—Yours fraternally,

TOM RENNOLLS.

"F.F.'s" REPLY.

If Socialism is a proposition it is more of a social or an economic than a psychological one.

The relation of Socialism to psychology was the subject which first attracted Mr. Rennolls's none too definite criticism, though his intervention has provided us with a sample of working-class mind that is, unfortunately, all too numerous. He scorned and overlooks the obvious truths of Socialism, whether concrete facts or general statements. The latter he stigmatises as abstractions. I pointed out in my first reply that Mr. Rennolls did not define "abstractions" for us according to his conception of the word, therefore I refrained from replying to his charge. Now that we know from Mr. Rennolls himself that any general statement is an abstraction, I have only to point out that all such general statements contained in our Declaration of Principles are deduced from concrete facts and placed in that form in order to give expression to general or abstract truths. If this is not scientific, logical, or practical; or if the principles are not correctly deduced, if there is not sufficient evidence to justify them, if they are too sweeping or not broad enough, it was, and still is, open for Mr. Rennolls to show.

In my first reply I also referred to my critic's slipshod methods of reading and quoting, and proved conclusively that he had been guilty of misquoting. He ignores the charge and commits the same offence once more, when he says that I challenged him to prove that abstractions exist in the S.P.G.B. Had I known at the time that according to him an abstraction was a generalisation arrived at by surveying a number of concrete facts upon which it was based, and the truth of which could be proved by both the inductive and the deductive method; had I known this and known also that Mr. Rennolls held such generalisations in contempt—irrespective of their truth—I should not have "passed over" his "discovery of abstractions" without showing that such "abstractions" are necessary to any organisation and to a working-class party are absolutely essential.

Again, my critic put the question: "What would be done to-morrow morning if all the people were Socialists?" and says that I answered it by saying "capture the political machine." Good advice to the working class, but it was not written in answer to his question, the absurdity of which he is still unable to see. "Why should we not," he says, "consider ourselves in the light of everyone being like us? To 'suppose' or 'if' that is quite in order." Of course it is—for the dreamer. If Mr. Rennolls likes to spend his time imagining situations like that contained in his question he is free to do so; but the only practical thing for the Socialist is to make Socialists—until Socialists are in a majority over all other parties; until their representatives dominate the Parliamentary, urban and rural councils, judiciary, etc. That time will come long before Mr. Rennolls's night of Socialists; it may even come before he realises that his question is one that does not apply, that the situation he envisages cannot possibly arise, still, for his sake, let us hope not. "Timing the thing," he says, "leaves 'F.F.' and I take it the S.P.G.B. stranded." The position is the reverse: the S.P.G.B. makes a definite statement with regard to time—when a majority of the electorate are Socialists. But Mr. Rennolls would wait until the whole of the working class are Socialists. Why, he does not say, and this omission is all the more surprising seeing that the success of his plan only depends on the conversion of the "shopmen."

Mr. Rennolls is quite sure of his plan, quite sure that the shopman is the keystone of the system, and equally sure that he would give the goods away instead of selling them. But he does not tell us what would happen when the shopman had parted with all his goods and applied to the capitalist for more. Would the latter give the goods instead of selling them? Would he allow them to be taken? Or would he call on the Government to provide the physical force necessary to protect his property? On all these questions my critic is silent. His plan is deadlocked as soon as the shopman has given away all his goods, and the class that controls the political machine locks out the workers from all the chief sources of supply—by means of the fighting forces—and starves them into submission.

"Herein," to quote from Mr. Rennolls's

following sentence, "the least interference would be made with the existing social order." That is quite true: it would be a case of "as you were," and Mr. Rennolls could ask himself his previous question once more—"Why should I put off thinking out what would or should be done to give live Socialism a chance, a start," etc. The fact that his plan had failed because its supporters came up against physical force, which was controlled through the political machine by the capitalist class, might cause him to take the political machine into consideration. Without respecting it, he might still recognise that it was the source of power, and the simplest, easiest, and most direct way to overcome capitalist opposition to Socialism is to control it.

The political machine can only be controlled, through representatives or delegates. But Mr. Rennolls jeers at the idea of being represented. He calls it a "miracle," and says, "you set about the job yourself. And so on, and so on. Any Socialist can work it out for himself." Well, so he can, in fact the question of representation is so simple that it does not require working out. A concrete example is before every Socialist (and incidentally before Mr. Rennolls as well), which proves without the shadow of a doubt its inestimable value. The capitalist class by means of representation controls the political machine, and through it subjects the whole working class to its rule. Here is a practical illustration of the value of representation. If the master class find in that method all that is necessary to retain their supremacy—everything else being added unto them as a consequence—surely the working class cannot afford to ignore it.

Let Mr. Rennolls think it over instead of dreaming about "nights of gladness" when all will be Socialists, to wake up in the morning and get on with the same old job; when all the shopmen will "give their goods away," when none of us will work for the capitalist "bounders for five minutes," when "F.F." will get some "notion of the whereabouts" of his arguments, when "live Socialism" will get a start, when you set about the job of representing yourself, and all the other absurdities that are roosting in his brain to the exclusion of rational and consecutive thought.

To sum up, all Mr. Rennolls's bombastic jeers anent the "dependable elixir of wisdom," the "sacredotal arrangement of the revolutionary diary," and the "doctrinaire state of mind," fall flat, because he absolutely fails to show that our declaration of principles are not genuine, scientific generalisations. Those epithets would more aptly fit his own confident but confused state of mind. His dream of the benevolent shopman is Utopian and impossible. His imaginative conception of a working class entirely Socialist and Socialism still awaiting establishment is childishly absurd. His careless assumption that "you" can always represent "yourself" shows that he has yet to learn the first principles of organisation. His contempt for political action is not based on reason or argument, and therefore stamps him as an Anarchist. He would preach discontent, but can present no feasible or scientific method by which the working class can achieve its emancipation.

F. F.

TO CONTRIBUTORS.

Several contributors are notified that their contributions have unavoidably been crowded out this month. They will appear at the earliest opportunity.

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BY THE WAY.

And so the importance of an Allied victory is established, as also is the fact that iron ore, and not oppressed people, is responsible for the particular interest centred in Alsace-Lorraine, "in the fate of which," we are told, "is involved nothing less than the industrial supremacy of Europe."

A glance at the final paragraph, here quoted, will explain the British capitalists' new-found love for the "children" of Alsace-Lorraine.

"It is clearly an almost vital interest, both for France and Great Britain, that the formation of a huge Franco-German cartel, based on the reciprocal exchange of coal for ore, should be prevented, that we should ourselves supply France with the coke that will enable her to do her own smelting, and that we should take from her in return the iron ore that we now import from Sweden and from Spain."

The evidence given shows the capitalists in their true character as a cold-blooded, profit-seeking tribe, ready to slaughter millions of workers to gain an advantage over a commercial rival. Hypocrites that they are, the shedding of crocodile tears with one eye while using the other to calculate the tons of iron ore the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine would provide is to them a simple matter.

The value of their sympathy for oppressed people can be measured by the fact that the toilers of all countries are oppressed. Murdered with work and starvation that wealth may be piled up in ever-greater abundance for the benefit of those that exploit them, the life of the workers is one round of oppression no matter who their rulers may be.

Their conditions are general; they do not change in essentials as we cross frontiers or land at different ports. The workers are slaves and capitalists live by their robbery the world over. An attempt on the workers' part to secure a larger portion of the wealth which they alone produce is met, when necessary, with the armed forces of the State, used by the capitalists to uphold their position as exploiters of labour and to defend their interests against the capitalists of other countries.

The State to which we belong does not trouble us; our object is to get control of the fighting forces for the purpose of overthrowing the present system of society and establishing Socialism, the system wherein wealth shall be produced to give comfort and happiness to the whole community.

Then and then only shall we be freed from capitalism and its horrors of peace and war. To us, therefore, Socialism is the only thing that matters.

E. L. WAKE.

WORDS THAT BEAR REPEATING.

Having no quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow workers of all lands the expression of our good will and Socialist fraternity and pledge ourselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism.

The World for the Workers.

—S.P.G.B. Manifesto, September 1914.

SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain.

A DANCE

WILL BE HELD AT
DEVONSHIRE HALL,
DEVONSHIRE ROAD, MARK STREET,
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ON
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N.B.—The issues from Sept. 1904 to August 1907 are out of print.

The dear old Beershop of London continues to provide us with innocent fun and amusement. He was ready to break stones "if necessary," and we laughed. Then he talked of leaving his palatial residence and living in a bug-hutch, and again we laughed. Next he "spoke unto the multitude" concerning the shekels of gold which it pleaseth the Lord to add unto him, and declared that he wouldn't accept "another blessed shilling" if it were offered, and this noble renunciation for his country's sake so tickled us that we laughed again. Now the dear old mugwump tells us ("Daily Chronicle" Dec. 5) "I only wish I had more money to invest in War Bonds myself." I hope for Christ's sake the powers that be will regard this as a withdrawal of the Renunciation of the Blessed Shilling, and give him another five thousand to devote to this Godly purpose. What a fellow-feeling the Bishop must have for the boy who stole his father's money to buy a Bible (Ibid)!

We have on many occasions read in the British Press how the unspeakable Hun (German specimen) has deliberately destroyed property. One has only to call to mind the names of Louvain, Rheims, and so on. Seeing, therefore, the condemnation that has been meted out to the hooligans abroad by the apostles of gentleness resident here, one would at least expect to find them behaving in a most exemplary manner. But what do we find? Time and time again we read of meeting places being smashed up, and people being injured who have attended such places. Let me quote a recent case—

As the result of a disorderly "pacifist" meeting at Leadgate, Durham, men, women, and youths wrecked the Labour Party's quarters, smashing the windows, doors, and furniture. The building was set on fire, but the flames were quickly extinguished. —"Reynolds's," Nov. 11th, 1917.

In view of these things I am instructed by Christ to add: "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone."

We live in a topsy-turvy world! A short time ago Dr. Addison, speaking at the prize distribution at the Charing Cross Hospital Medical school, said that "to-day there was greater need than ever for the best that any of them could do." He went on to say that "statistics showed that the annual wastage of the civil medical population was between 900 and 1,000." Now in view of the dearth of doctors at the present time and the "greater need than ever" for their services, the following intelligent method of utilising "our" national resources is impressive.

Dr. R. C. Fairbairn, of Hampstead, who was recently tried by Court-martial for refusing to obey the military orders on the ground that as an officer of the R.A.M.C. his chief duty would not be the alleviation of suffering, but preparing men to return to the slaughter, was sentenced to two years, and not six months as stated.

—"Daily News," Nov. 11th, 1917.

One other point in Dr. Addison's speech is worth noting. It confirms what the Socialist has stated over and over again in those far-off days of peace. Here is his indictment of capitalist society:

It was evident that there were no fewer than a million elementary school children who were seriously handicapped in the race for life owing to some defect or disease which for the most part we knew was preventable.

—"Daily News," Nov. 2nd, 1917.

He might have gone further and referred to that vast number of Army rejects, the undeveloped and generally unfit, the result of mal-nutrition and a state of chronic poverty, but that would have been, as it were, "rubbing it in." However, in spite of all the make-believe which is going on at the present time—the maternity centres, the baby clinics, and so forth—and the fulminations of capitalist reformers, we make bold to say that there is no remedy under the sun for these "preventable" evils other than that to be found in the common ownership of the means of life—in a word, Socialism.

The latest cry of a section of the Press is "Bolo." Whether "Bolo" is he, she, or it I cannot say. But whenever there is some mishap, whether in Wales with the miners, in Russia or in Italy, the parrot cry of "Bolo" is raised. In this connection the following extracts may be interesting.

I.

WHO ARE OUR BOLOS?

NAMES AND FACTS WANTED BY THE "DAILY MAIL."
"The 'Daily Mail' wants the names of every known pacifist or active friend of Germany in your city, town, or village. . . . the names of every speaker or writer who favours Germany, with all you know about the source of his income, the societies to which he belongs, and the relations he has, or has had, with Germany."—"Daily Mail," Oct. 25, 1917.

II.

"I know the Germans intimately. From childhood I have travelled extensively throughout most of the German States. I have many German family connections."—Lord Northcliffe in the "New York Times," Sept. 29, 1909.

—"Daily News," Oct. 30th, 1917.

"All letters on this subject should be addressed in strict confidence to 'B,' The Daily Mail, London, E.C., runs an announcement in that journal. This one might term the Russification of England."

The profiteering patriot has been having a good time of late, but in order to pacify an outraged public a prosecution takes place now and then. We read of controlled tea at 2s. 4d. per lb. being sold at 5s.; and butter exceeding the maximum by 8d. per lb. Perhaps this is "Boloism."

The acrobatic performances of the Labour Member for Leicester, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, are really amazing. In the early part of October, speaking at Loughborough, he said, "They wanted no patched-up peace, or peace at any price, which would bring war in ten years time."

Then came the Peace Debate in the House of Commons on the 6th November, and from the "Daily Telegraph" (7.11.1917) Parliamentary news I cull the following:

Mr. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Lab., Leicester) said that they wanted it to be made perfectly clear to the Allies and to the enemy that this country had definite war aims, and that the success or failure of the war was dependent upon how these war aims were carried out. This country must not be allowed to make peace on account of war weariness. The second danger was that when a country entered into war there was a grave risk of losing the sense of its direction in carrying on the war. Therefore the country should lay down quite clearly what its war aims were and stick to them. (Italics mine.)

The "Labour Leader," (8.11.1917) which refers to MacDonald's "powerful speech," contains no reference to the passage quoted above, but records this interesting gem:

Our original war aims held up before the people a bright flag of ideals. Why should they now be sneered at as of minor importance? . . . The business of the Cabinet was not to make speeches telling the country to "go and fight," but to supplement with their brains the magnificent physical efforts of the men in the field.

From the above it would appear that Ramsay MacDonald is developing into as keen a supporter of the war as the most rabid jingo.

An interesting story was recently told by an applicant for exemption from military service. It concerned the Secretary of the British New Guinea Development Co., who said he had solved a difficult labour problem in New Guinea. Here follows the story:

In the ordinary course of things the male islanders left all the work to their womenkind. Recently the Australian Government prohibited women labour in the plantations. The males could not be tempted to work for money, and he hit upon the idea of offering fancy decorative things, such as beads, gaudy clothes, dogs' teeth, and musical instruments. To get these things men engaged themselves to work for a twelve-month, and when they returned to their villages they inspired others with the ambition to do likewise. By this means a large amount of useful and necessary work was done.

The case was adjourned for inquiries. But the story is not an unreasonable one, for we have

read in times past of the crafty cunning of the profit-seeking capitalist who confers the benefits and blessings of Christian civilization on the half-savage native.

At a meeting of "Comrades of the Great War," held at the Mansion House on November 13th, a rather untoward event took place. "Comrade" Beresford's speech was punctuated by several remarks made by members of the National Federation of Discharged and Demobilised Sailors and Soldiers, which resulted in their being ejected for interrupting. The Lord Mayor then delivered himself of the following:

"This only shows the appalling manner in which German money can even find its way into this Mansion House."—"Daily News," Nov. 15th, 1917.

A day or two later the Lord Mayor expressed regret for having made the observation above quoted, and confessed his ignorance of the existence of such an organisation. How sublimely innocent! Any opposition to the wily schemes of our masters is now-a-days greeted with the cry of "Bolo" or "German money."

On the subject of the show and banquet columns of print have appeared in the various newspapers. The hollowness and cant of the economy campaign stands out as a sham, and it appears to be a case of for Christ's sake pull your belts in or we may not be able to guzzle. The plea that the banquet was necessary because of the speeches that were to follow is a pitiful one, as is the announcement that 300 poor people partook of the husks that the swine couldn't eat—I mean the crumbs that fell from the rich men's table. One titbit from the Press is illuminating:

It cannot be said that the authorities have shone in the controversy over the Lord Mayor's banquet, for the result is that the banqueters have had all the discredit of attending in war time a function whose reputation for guzzling has become historic, while they have not had the solid advantages that flow from Guildhall feasts. We have read that some of the guests actually "felt hungry" after the meal poor things! Well, they have the consolation of knowing that in thousands of workers' homes throughout the country that is no uncommon state of things.—"Reynolds's," Nov. 11th, 1917.

The value of example has indeed been lost on this historic occasion. Deeds, not words, my masters!

Some interest has been aroused of late in the huge war-time profits made by wholesale drapers, and the question has been asked as to whether the charge of profiteering that has been brought against them is well justified. Some claim that this prosperity is due to a thriftless public, and that entreaties to practise economy have gone unheeded by women who form the bulk of the customers.

Here are a few illustrations of the rise of profits:

PEACE AND WAR PROFITS.

The Fore-street Warehouse earned a profit last year of £63,200, which compares with £25,300 for 12 months before the outbreak of war.

Bradbury, Greatorex & Co.—£50,300, an increase of £19,000 on the pre-war figure.

Messrs. Foster, Porter & Co.—Last profit £49,200 compared with £23,000 for 1913.

Messrs. John Howell & Co., of St. Paul's Church-yard, easily quadrupled their profits, which last year amounted to £42,200 as against £10,600 for the year preceding the outbreak of war.

Messrs. Pawsons & Leafs in the same period increased their profits from £7,600 to £35,850. The last figure is arrived at after making provision for the excess profits duty and the income tax.

Messrs. Devas, Routledge & Co., also greatly multiplied their profits, while those secured by Jeremiah Rotherham & Co. rose during the three years from £59,700 to £137,000, an increase of over £77,000.

In 1913 the profits of Messrs. Crocker, Sons & Co. amounted to £8,900. For 1916 they were £24,600 after providing for the excess profits duty.

—"Daily Chronicle," Oct. 23rd, 1917.

The "Chronicle" adds: "Whether in many cases the actual bulk of the goods exchanged has been very much greater than in pre-war times is uncertain, but the turnover, as many directors have boasted, has been much greater, because the value of the goods sold has been

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

192, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—All communications to A. Jones, 3 Mathew St., Latchmere St., Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spicel-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec. 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Suns. 4.30

EDMONTON.—C. D. Waller, Sec., 2 Tower-gardens, Wood Green. Branch meets every Saturday, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

GRAVESEND.—Secy., c/o 2 Milton-rd., Gravesend.

HACKNEY.—Branch meets every Saturday at 8 o'clock at Old Gravel Pit Hall, Valette Street, Hackney, N.E.

SLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30.

KILBURN.—Communications to H. Keen, 95 Southam-st., N. Kensington, from whom can be ascertained meeting place of Branch.

MANCHESTER.—All communications to Secy., W. Torr, 111 West Park St., Salford. Branch meets Sundays at 3, at the United Garment Workers' Office, 59 New Bridge St., Victoria Station, Cheetham.

MARYLEBONE. Communications to Sec. at 193 Gray's Inn-rd., W.

NOTTINGHAM.

PECKHAM.—All communications to the Secretary, c/o S. Ray, Newsagent and Tobacconist, 6, Philip Road, Peckham.

SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 5 Wellington Ave., Westcliffe-on-Sea.

TOOTING.—All communications to H. Wallis, 207 Derinton-rd., Tooting. Branch meets at 100 Upper Tooting Rd., alternate Thursdays from August 9th at 7.30 p.m.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—All communications to D. G. Lloyd, 48, Badlis-rd., Walthamstow.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Secy., 107 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 469, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 10 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

doubled, trebled, and probably in some cases quadrupled."

Another interesting tribunal case recently appeared in the Press. The following report of a case heard by the Marylebone Tribunal a few days ago was given in the "West London News" of November 17th:

An application was made on behalf of Lord Beresford for Mr. C. Dyer, aged 27, single, a valet, 1 Cumberland-place.

Dyer is one of three menservants, and there are seven maid-servants.

The Director of Recruiting had already exempted him for two months pending the decision of the tribunal.

The application was unanimously rejected.

This affords a fine object lesson on how the master class view the appeals for "economy," the need for "all" to be engaged upon "work of national importance," and so forth. Ten servants to look after his lordship's household, and "we" are at war! Ugh! What a nation of hypocrites!

THE SCOUT.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

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